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HAYAGRĪVA

THE HORSE-HEADED DEITY
IN
INDIAN CULTURE

BY

Prof. D. SRIDHARA BABU
S.V.U.O.R. Institute

PUBLISHED BY
Dr. M. Srimannarayana Murti
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SRI VENKATESWARA UNIVERSITY
ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
TIRUPATI

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FOREWORD

It is one of the typical features of Hinduism to develop specific aspects of the highest god and to give them a more or less autonomous status with a designation, an iconography and a worship of their own. Within both Śivaism and Viṣṇuism there was apparently felt a need to develop an aspect of God as the protector of wisdom and learning. Thus Śiva manifests himself as Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Viṣṇu as the horse-headed Hayagrīva. In spite of the similarity of function, both deities widely differ as far as their history, appearance and mythological context are concerned. It is one of the merits of Dr. Babu's book that it makes us understand the particular features of the horse-headed god on the basis of his origins in Vedic religious imagery, i.e. the idea of Viṣṇu, the god who in the Brāhmaṇas is identified with sacrifice (yajña) itself, being decapitated and furnished with the head of the sun-horse, This myth, connected with the Pravargya ceremony, shows on the one hand Viṣṇu's connection with the sun (to be explained, as I believe, as the moon passing the sun during the new-moon period and thereby being converted into the sun) and explains on the other hand the special function of Hayagrīva as a deity of wisdom and learning: The horse-head is the sun as symbol of illumination, the sun as destroyer of the darkness of ignorance. Dr. Babu draws also our attention to the fact that in the Vedic myth of Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa the horse-head is connected with the idea of secret knowledge. This points to the important role to be played by Hayagrīva in Tantrism and even – as was described more than half a century ago by the Dutch scholar H. van Gulik (Hayagrīva. The Mantrayanic Aspect of Horse-Cult in China and Japan. Leiden, 1935) – in Mantrayāṇa Buddhism. The secret knowledge of the Dadhyañc myth is called madhu-vidyā, and this reminds of the name (Madhu) of one of the two demons who rob the Veda and who are killed by Viṣṇu according to later tradition (the other demon being called Kaiṭabha). The connection of the Madhu-Kaiṭabha myth with Hayagrīva may therefore be old, in spite of the fact that Viṣṇu fighting these two demons is not always imagined as horse-headed (cf. recently A. Bock in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft, vol. 137, p. 78-109).

The present study as Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu yields an amazing wealth of information on all aspects of Hayagrīva : on his origin from Vedic concepts, his mythology according to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, his iconography in theory and practice, his cult and the pattern of his worship, and on the mantras and stotras dedicated to the god. By carefully collecting all the available material Dr. Babu has rendered a great service to all students of Indian religion.

When in September 1987 I worte the first draft of the foreword to this book, I ended it by expressing my best wishes to the author and for his scholarly work in the future. Unfortunately, my wishes were not fulfilled : Sridhara Babu, my dear friend and respected colleague through many years, did not even live to see his study on Hayagrīva to be published. But I am sure that the book by proving to be useful to many readers will keep the memory of its learned and noble author alive for a long time.

INDO-IRANSK INSTITUTT
UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
Postboks 1035 Blindern
0315 OSLO 3 (Norway)
9th January, 1990

GEORG VON SIMSON

PREFACE

A careful study of the Vedic literature reveals that the anthropomorphic characteristics of the Vedic deities got also mixed up with the traits of animals. Thus the natural phenomena manifested in the form of human beings, animals and also the inanimate objects, appear in the evolution of the nature worship of the Aryans. The nature is not only Aryan's home, but also his seat of supernatural powers, which he wanted to understand and control. The animal is a symbol of energy, which is needed to subdue nature and overcome evil, while the human intelligence is the symbol of motivating heroic force to bring about the manifestation of energy. Viṣṇu, the chief associate of Indra in his fight with Vṛtra is compared in the *Ṛgveda* (1. 154. 2, 3) with a dread beast and wide-pacing bull. Later Viṣṇu emerged as an independent deity, the combination of the characteristics of an animal and also of a human being; it became a natural development representing the union of energy and heroic force. Thus Viṣṇu came to be viewed as lion-headed deity and also as horse-headed deity. Viṣṇu as a lion-headed deity with the name *nārasiṃha* (also *nṛsiṃha*, *narasiṃha*, *narakesari*, etc.) became so popular that it was treated as one of the ten incarnations *(avatāras)* of Viṣṇu. The present monograph of Prof. D. Sridhara Babu is a detailed investigation of the development of Viṣṇu as a horse-headed deity with the name Hayagrīva in the Indian Cultural History on the basis of the Vedic, Puranic, Tantric and Stotra literatures, iconography and ritual. A careful study of this book does not fail to enthuse its readers to undertake similar studies. It is, indeed, regretable that Prof. Sridhara Babu is not in our midst to share the joy in placing this book in the hands of its readers.

Born on 3-9-1936 at Konkepudi in Andhra Pradesh in the traditional family of Vaikhanasas, Divi Sridhara Kodandaramacharyulu had his early education (1941–1954) upto Intermediate at Machilipatnam. Taking M.A. degree in Philosophy in 1961 from Andhra University, he got his name changed to

D. Sridhara Babu to suit to his taste. Working for two years at the Hindu College, Machilipatnam, he entered into the wide world searching for a suitable occupation to achieve his aspirations and worked in many institutions till he could get an invitation from Goettingen (West Germany) in 1969. He took doctorate degree in Indology, from Georg August University, Goettingen, in 1974 for his thesis *Kingship: State and Religion in South India* prepared under the guidance of Professor Heinz Bechert. Working in different positions in West Germany till 1977, Prof. Babu returned to India, and joined in April 1977 as Reader in Philosophy and Comparative Religion in the S.V.U. Oriental Research Institute. He enjoyed the opportunity to share his experiences in India and abroad while taking classes for the post-graduate students of Indian Culture. He was elevated as Professor in 1987 through merit promotion scheme But his health failed in 1986 and it gradually deteriorated and he breathed last by cardiac arrest on 20-12-1988 leaving behind his wife Smt. Bhaskari Devi and daughter Kum. Srisilpa. Many more contributions with penetrating insight would have come from his pen, but the fate has taken him away relieving him of his sufferings on this earth.

This monograph was given to the Sri Venkateswara University Press on 8-9-1982 and it took nearly seven and half years to be released. Inordinate delay caused many irregularities and hence errors, omissions and commissions are likely to appear here and there. Because of the innumerable responsibilities Prof. Babu had to bear on the one hand and his failing health on the other, the proofs could not be read fast and regularly. The Manager of S.V.U. Press deserves to be thanked for completing the work against all odds. Our thanks are always due to the University authorities who extend their help in all academic matters. Prof. Sridhara Babu deserves to be thanked for his excellent services rendered to the Institute for over a decade. May his soul rest in peace.

S.V. University
Tirupati-517 502
12th January, 1990

M. Srimannarayana Murti
DIRECTOR
Oriental Research Institute

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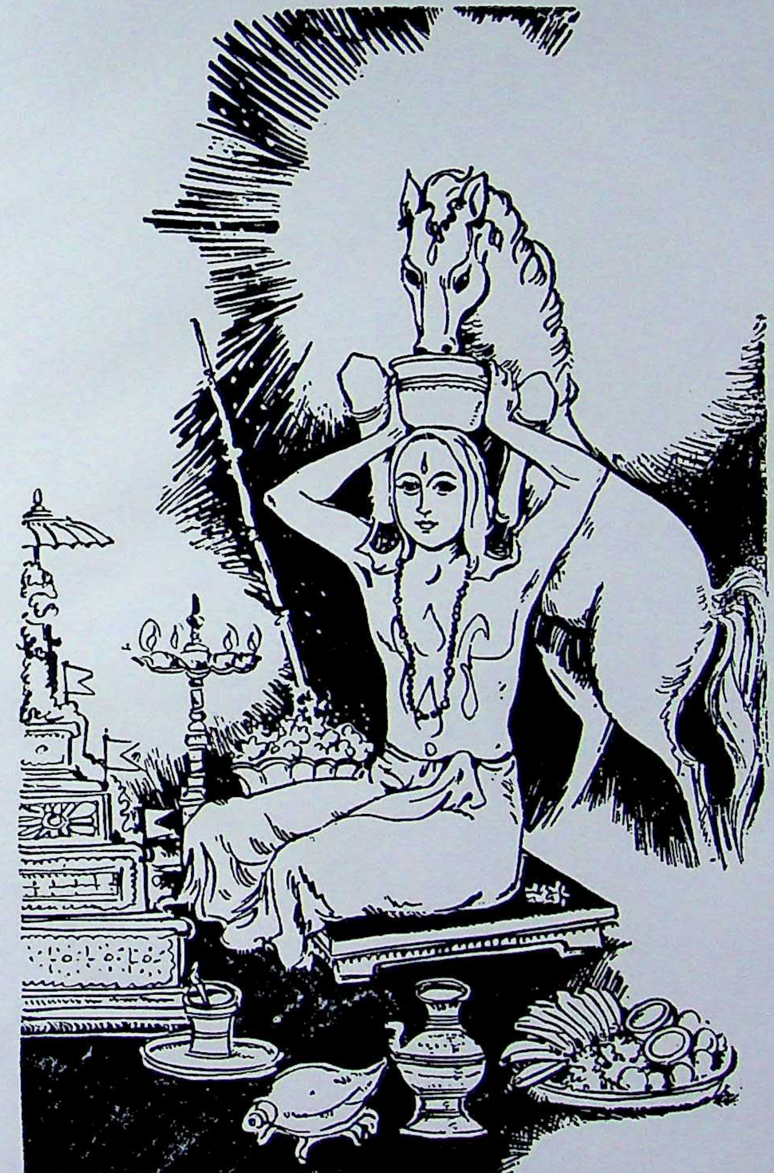

Hayagrīva in the form of a white horse consuming the offering made by Vādirāja (p. 99)

CHAPTER I

The Horse-headed form in the Vedic Literature

1. The Vedic origin of the horse-headed form

It is customary to go back to the Vedic literature for explaining different aspects of Indian religion and culture. So, in this chapter the origin of the horse-headed form in the Vedic lore is sought for.

Firstly, we examine the references in the *Ṛgveda* to the horses proper, which stood in high esteem. In many passages the horse is related with the sun. The most striking example for this is the steed *Dadhikrā (Dadhikrāvan)*[1] which is sung in the four hymns of the *Ṛgveda.*[2] *Dadhikrā* is so characteristically a steed that the word is given in the *Naighanṭuka* (1, 14)[3] as the synonym of horse. The quality of swiftness of this divine steed is highly praised. Sometimes he is also conceived as winged. This description is followed from the conception of *Dadhikrāvan*, found in some passages of the *Ṛgveda*, where he is compared to an eagle (4, 38) and also he is spoken of as the swan (*haṁsa)* dwelling in light (4, 40). This description of *Dadhikrāvan* may be figurative in its nature, which suggests the great swiftness of movement of the steed. But at the sametime these passages may be the source of origin and inspiration of later constant association between *Hayagriva-Viṣṇu* and the divine bird *Garutmān.* Also the conception of *Garutmān* finds its origin in the Vedic idea of *Tārkṣya.*[4] The comparison of the horse with the swan *(haṁsa)* can also be conceived as the steed for the later conception of *Hayagriva-mantra* which is very often called as a *Haṁsamanu.*[5]

The steed *Dadhikrāvan* is praised when *Agni* is kindled at the dawning of *Uṣas* (4, 39). Some scholars[6] think that *Dadhikrā* represents, in the form of a steed, the circling ball of the sun. This conception finds its support in the fact that the deity with whom *Dadhikrā* is most closely connected, is *Uṣas*. The sun is often conceived as a steed or a bird. It is also said that the name of *Dadhikrā* refers rather to lightening. But, in general, he represents *Agni*, including his solar and lightening forms. Such references relating to *Dadhikrāvan* indicate that this divine steed is also connected with the sun. Slowly the identification of the sun with the horse and the horse as the symbol of the sun as well, gave an element of divine status to the horse. By degrees the horse symbol that was connected with the sun, began to be identified with *Viṣṇu*, who is himself a solar divinity. Besides the divine steed *Dadhikrā* we find several instances, where *Tārkṣya*[7] is referred to as a divine steed, apparently the sun conceived as the horse. At one instance in the *Ṛgveda* (1, 89; 10, 178) *Tārkṣya* is described as a god impelled mighty steed (*vājin*). Another mythical steed called *Paiḍva*[8] is that which the *Aśvins* are said to have brought to *Peḍu* (1, 119; 7, 71) and which is, therefore, called *Paiḍva* (1, 116; 9, 88). He is several times described as white in colour (1, 116) and also conqueror invincible in battle, seeking heaven (1, 119). The word *Etasa*[9], which occurs a few times in the *Ṛgveda* (7, 62; 10, 37–49) as an adjective meaning 'swift', more frequently signifies 'steed'. This word occurs sometimes as a proper name, always connected with the sun. As Macdonell interprets all these references to the divine steeds are in one way or other associated with the sun. There are other references in the *Ṛgveda*, where it is suggested that the horse is used as a symbol of the sun. In one passage (7, 77), it is indicated that the dawn is said to lead a white steed and in another (1, 163) it is described that the sacrificial steed is said to have been fashioned by the gods out of the sun. In addition to this, the horse appears to be a symbol of the sun in a particular kind of *Soma* ritual.[10] Except the indirect connection of horses with *Viṣṇu* as a solar deity these references do not provide us a basis for a definite conception of the fullfledged horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* at this stage in the *Ṛgveda*.

2. Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa in the horse-headed form

After examining various references to horses with an element of divinity in the *Ṛgveda*, now we may try to analyse the references therein relating to *Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa*,[11] who appears in the horse-headed form for proclaiming *madhu-vidyā* to the twin-gods, *Aśvins*. The story of the mythical sage *Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa* was developed later in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*,[12] the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*,[13] the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[14] and the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*.[15]

There is an interesting story about *Dadhyañc*.[16] It was *Indra* who taught this wisdom of *madhu-vidyā* to *Dadhyañc* and while teaching him he had warned that if he gave away that secret wisdom to anybodyelse his head would be cut off. *Aśvinidevās* wanted to be enlightened with that wisdom. They approached *Dadhyañc* to learn *madhu-vidyā* from him. But, *Dadhyañc*, conscious of Indra's threatening, refused to teach them that wisdom. The *Aśvins* found a way to overcome this difficulty. In the first place they cut off his head and kept it carefully in a place. Then they cut off the head of a horse and fixed it on the trunk of *Dadhyañc*. It was with the head of a horse that *Dadhyañc* taught *Aśvins madhu vidyā* and as soon as the teaching was over his horse head was cut off as was forewarned by Indra. Then *Aśvinidevās* brought the real head of *Dadhyañc* and fixed it in its original place.

In the story of *Dadhyañc*, the teaching of *madhu-vidyā*, taught in a horse-headed shape, is relevant to us to seek the development of the horse-headed form and also its associations with learning and wisdom. Such clear-cut references in the *Ṛgveda* as —

> "*Aśvasya śirṣṇā pra yadīmuvāca*" [17]
> "*Dadhice śvyam śiraḥ pratyaìrayataṁ*
> *sa vāṁ madhu pra vocat*" [18]

presuppose the earliest evidence of transplantation of horse-head on human trunk for serving a specific purpose. Although the story of *Dadhyñc* is not even indirectly connected with *Viṣṇu* as a solar deity, as it is in the case of references regarding the divine steeds discussed already in the previous section, but it brings us nearer to the conception of half-man and half-horse zoomorphic form in ancient times. Probably this may be the source of inspiration for later mythical transplantation - surgery where the horse-head was fixed on *Viṣṇu's* trunk by the same divine surgeons namely *Aśvins*. The link between the story of *Dadhyañc* and the story of the loss of *Viṣṇu's* head and its replacement with a horse-head is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which we will take into account in the next section.

3. Yajña-Viṣṇu and Pravargya

The seeds of the conception of *Viṣṇu* as a horse-headed deity are found in the Vedic conception of *Pravargya*. In different Vedic texts we come across a story regarding the loss of *Yajña-Viṣṇu's* head and its replacement done by *Aśvins*. The earliest elements of the story can be traced back to the *Yajurveda* i.e. the *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya Taittirīyasaṁhitā* (4.4.9). Later it sought its expression with different versions in different Vedic texts such as the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (IV and V), the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14 1.1), the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (7,5,6) and others.[19]

The essence of the legend could be described in the following manner. Once the gods wanted to perform a sacrifice *(satra)* desirous of fame *(yaśaskāma)*. The place of the sacrifice was *Kurukṣetra*. They performed the sacrifice with an agreement that they should share among themselves the credit, which is the result of the performance. Among the gods *Yajña-Viṣṇu* or *Makha-Viṣṇu* became glorious with the fame. Thus, he, violating the agreement, carried away the whole credit of the sacrifice with him and by means of his bow he drove back the other gods — *Agni*, *Indra* and *Vāyu* — who followed him. The gods wanted to do something against *Makha-Viṣṇu* as a retaliation. They got the tightened string of the bow, with which *Yajña-Viṣṇu* stood firm, bitten off by termites *(Vamri)*. Then immediately, the bow, which got straightened up, cut off *Yajña's* head. Afterwards, the gods felt it necessary to refix *Yajña-Viṣṇu's* head and requested the *Aśvins* to do this job. For performing this job *Aśvins*, who being surgeons *(bhiṣak)* supposed to be impure, were blessed with a pot-full of *soma*-juice *(graha-pātra)* as their share in the sacrifice, which was hitherto forbidden for them. The *Aśvins*, taking this assurance from the gods, fixed, the head of the horse to the *Yajña-Viṣṇu's* trunk. This is a reconstructed story based on pieces of information from different versions of the stories, which appear in different texts.

Not only from the oft-quoted passage from the Vedic texts like "*yajño vai Viṣṇuḥ*"[20] but also from a number of other passages we come to know that *Yajña* itself is *Viṣṇu*.[21] We also understand that the head of *yajña* that is cut off is itself nothing but the solar deity itself, as well-expressed in the passage "*asāvā ādityo bhavatu*" (thus the head of *Viṣṇu* became *Āditya*).[22] In some passages *Āditya* is equated with *aśva*, as in the case of the statement "*asau vā āditya vṛṣāśvaḥ*".[23] According to Sāyana's commentary, this idea is very clear as expressed particularly in the statement like "*aśvasya niṣpadasi*".[24] In another context in his commentary on the passage of the Kāṭhaka (1.4.6) relating to the same story, Sāyaṇa brings a concept of *Yajñapuruṣa*, the meaning of which could be understood as *Yajña-Viṣṇu* in a personified anthropomorphic form. This fact is relevant to our discussion. The story of the loss of *Yajña-Viṣṇu's* head, which became a source of inspiration for the later purāṇic legends should not be understood merely for its story value. Usually, the Vedic *ākhyāyikas* have much symbolical significance in one way or another. Here the story of *Pravargya* is interlinked with the *Yajña*-complex. We have already seen that *Viṣṇu* appears as a solar deity in early vedic times. In both the recensions of *Yajurveda*, i.e. *Śukla* as well as *Kṛṣṇa*, the process of *Yajña* is identified with *Viṣṇu*. One should understand the subtle difference between *Yajña* or *Makha* as a process of ritualistic performance, and also *Yajña* or *Makha* personified as *Viṣṇu*. At the same time the conception of the coherent unity or identity of *Yajña* as a process and *Yajña* as a deity is a necessary requisite to understand the symbolic significance of the ritual. Although, *Viṣṇu* is identified with *Makha* or *Yajña* he has not lost his associations with the sun. When Viṣṇu's head is cut off, it is said in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14.1.1.10), "It fell with (the sound) '*ghrīn*' and on falling, it became yonder sun."[25] The association of the horse with the sun connects the story with the conception of replacing Viṣṇu's head with the horse's.

We have to understand the significance of the part played by *Aśvins* in fixing the head to the headless *Yajña-Viṣṇu*, which is also symbolically woven within the story. As the divine surgeons, it is clear, that they possess the skill of transplantation, as it is illustrated in the story of *Dadhyañc*. The element that connects the story of *Dadhyañc* with the story of *Makha-Viṣṇu* is the idea of *madhu-vidyā*. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* links both of these stories in an interesting manner. When *Viṣṇu*, the great hero, has fallen and while he lost his head, the vital sap *(rasa)* flowed from him. Among the gods *Indra* reached him first, and applied the sap to his body limb after limb. While doing this he became possessed of the glory of *Viṣṇu*. It is said that he who knows this secret acquires the glory which *Indra* had possessed. Further, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (14.1.1.13) mystically explains that Indra being possessed of *Makha* became *Makhavat*, because according to it *Makha* (sacrifice) indeed is the same as Viṣṇu. This secret of pure essence of the *madhu-vidyā* or the secret of *pravargya* or in ritualistic terms the pot of boiled milk and ghee, through which the head of sacrifice could be put on again, and through which this sacrifice becomes complete, is known to *Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa*. Indra was conscious of the knowledge of *Dadhyañc* regarding this sacrificial mystery, which he wanted to keep always as a secret. So, he threatend *Dadhyañc* not to reveal it to anybody. When *Makha-Viṣṇu* lost his head, the gods went on worshipping and toiling for a while with that headless sacrifice, probably until they requested *Aśvins* to put on again the head of *Makha-Viṣṇu*. We know already how *Aśvins* got the knowledge of the *madhu-vidyā* through *Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa*. What is the purport of the secret wisdom at all? In this context, it is the *soma* sacrifice that is identified with *Viṣṇu*. In this sacrificial process the fallen head of *Viṣṇu* stands symbolically for the *mahāvīra* pot, with which the *pravargya* ceremony is performed, the performance of which is supposed to be the primary part of the *soma*-sacrifice, like the head as an important part of the whole body. Anyone who possesses the knowledge of *Pravargya* would be able to add the head to the headless sacrifice through *pravargya*. Because the *Aśvins* were in possession of that knowledge, they could transplant the head to *Makha-Viṣṇu* in both the ways — concrete as well as symbolical-concrete in the sense of fixing the head on a personified deity and symbolical in the sense of adding the primary ceremonial part to the incomplete *soma*-sacrifice to make it complete.

In the Vedic literature, the transplantation of horse-head on *Viṣṇu's* trunk is not much directly emphasised. The ritualistic aspect of it is much focussed upon in a symbolic way expressing the fact that headless *Yajña* is made complete with the performance of *pravargya*. The identification of *pravargya* with the head of the deity and its further identification with the head of a horse is the basis for the conception that *Viṣṇu* is refixed with the head of a horse. This idea has been much developed with new details in the purāṇic literature.

4. The Cosmic form of the Horse in the Aśvamedha sacrifice and its interpretation in terms of Viṣṇu.

Aśvamedha, as *Rajasūya*, is one of the important vedic sacrifices, usually performed by kings. It is a *yāga* performed in order to get absolved of all sins, fixing a victory card on the head of a sacrificial horse, which is allowed to roam about freely. If anyone stops the horse and ties it, the king should go and defeat him in the battle and bring back the horse. Finally when the horse returns it symbolizing the unopposed sovereignty of the king, it is sacrificed with certain rites.

As usual and typical to the vedic tradition, the sacrificial horse in the *Aśvamedha* ceremony is elevated and deified with mystical elements. For our discussion the description of the horse's cosmic form where each of its limbs stands for a particular aspect of the cosmos is important. The *Kṛṣṇayajurvediya Taittiriya Saṁhitā* offers us such a description in cosmic terms where the head of it is depicted as the dawn, the eye as the sun, the breath as the wind, etc. (VII. 5.25). In the end of this passage it is said that the birth place of the horse, indeed, is the sea, its kindred is the sea - "*aśvasya yoniḥ samudro bandhuḥ*" (VII. 5.25). The commentary on this passage by *Sāyaṇa* starts with the sentence — "*Evam vidhasya virāḍrūpasya samudra eve yoniḥ kāranaṁ. samyak utpadyate jagadasmāditi samudraḥ paramātmā. na hi anyasmād ayam virāḍ utpattum arhati. Sa eva asya bandhuḥ stāmbhaḥ stitiheturityarthaḥ. Evam upāsitā pāpakṣayadvārā virāḍrūpam prāpnoti.........Virāṭ prāptiśca kramamuktihetuḥ.........* |'

In this passage *Sāyaṇa* categorically expresses the source of the horse, the ocean as *paramātman*. Further he interprets that the cosmic form of the sacrificial horse could only be understood in terms of the cosmic form of *paramātman*. The latter is not only the source but also sustains that which it produces. If one worships its cosmic form in such a manner, he obtains the cosmic form itself through the destruction of all sins. And finally he states that the attainment of the cosmic form is the cause of gradual release *(kramamukti)*.

Śaṅkara is the source of inspiration for *Sāyaṇa* in interpreting the idea of the ocean from which the cosmic horse has originated as the *paramātman* himself *Śaṅkara*, in his commentary on the first passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*[26] says —

> "*samudra eveti paramātmā bandhur bandhanaṁ badhyate' sminniti* |
> *samudro yonih kāraṇaṁ utpattiṁ prati* |
> *evamasau śuddhayoniḥ śuddhasthitiriti stūyate* |
> '*apsuyonirvā aśvaḥ*' *iti śruteḥ prasiddha eva vā samudro yoniḥ*" |

The identification of *samudra* with *Paramātman* and visualising the sacrificial horse in cosmic form, equating the horse with *Paramātman* is necessary for the process of the worship. This identification bridges the ritualistic formalism of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature and the spiritual wisdom of the *upaniṣads*. It is interesting to note that this interpretation of the idea of the sacrificial horse conceived in cosmic form for *upāsanā* purposes is found not only in the concluding chapter of the *Kṛṣṇayajurvedīya Taittirīya Saṁhitā* but also in the beginning of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*.

Taking the clues from *Sāyaṇa's* interpretation of the cosmic form *(Virāḍrūpa)* in terms of *Paramātman*, some *Vaiṣṇava* scholars[27] understand the afore-mentioned concept as *Viṣṇu*, who is *paramātman* and all-pervasive divine force himself. With this interpretation they tried to link the cosmic form of the *Aśvamedha* horse with *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu*. But it is not clear that the intention of the passage is to indicate such an interpretation. It is definite that the horse of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice is raised to the status of cosmic form symbolically and mystically. Here the Universe is conceived as a horse and *Viṣṇu* is also conceived as an all-pervasive divine existence. One can derive the concept of *Hayaviṣṇu* through a combination of both of them. But such process of symbolization is not limited to the horse in the *Aśvamedha* alone. It vividly expresses itself in different contexts in the Indian tradition where a deity or a sacrificial animal or a ritualistic process, is mystically expressed in cosmic terms.

This process of mystic symbolization is to be found even in the later mythological literature where the legend of horse-headed *Viṣṇu* is narrated.

Later the *Vaiṣṇava* acholars also understand certain words of the *Vedic* literature such as *gandharva*, *haṁsa*, *āditya*, *vācaspati*, *vākpati*, etc., in terms of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu*. Although it is clear that the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* as a full-fledged and independent deity is not well established in the Vedic texts, such interpretations are intended only to seek the origin of one's own deity in the *Vedic* lore and to establish its antiquity in the hoary past. Understanding certain key terms in an ancient text in terms of one's own favourite philosophical theory or a religious doctrine or a deity of one's own choice is not unknown to the Indian tradition. The interpretation of certain words in terms of horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* are found in *Abhinava Raṅganātha's* commentary on the *Hayaśira Upākhyāna.*[28] *Rāghavēndra yati* comments on *Madhvācārya's* interpretation on the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* in which it is interpreted that *Viṣṇu* is the central figure of all hymns. He also feels that all the hymns in it are addressed to *Viṣṇu*. He refers to the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* in interpreting the word, '*krandādaśvaḥ*' (R.V. I. 7.36.8).

Chapter I : REFERENCES

1. Cf., A.A. Macdonell, The Vedic Mythology, Delhi 1971, p. 148.
2. R.V. 4, 38-40; 7, 44.
3. Yāska's Nirukta and Nighaṇṭu, Tanjavur 1973, Pt. I, p. 10.
4. See for details in the chapter VI on worship regarding the association of Hayagrīva-mantra with Garutmān.
5. See the chapter VI.

6. A.A. Macdonell, The Vedic Mythology, p. 149.
7. ibid.
8. ibid.
9. ibid.
10. Cf. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, p. 81.
11. Cf. Hillebrandt, A. Vedische Mythologie, Hildes 1965, pp. 141-142 (Breslau 1927-29).
12. V. 1.4 (4).
13. XIX. 4.
14. IV. 1.5; XIV. 1.1; XIV. 1-4.
15. II. 5, 16-19.
16. RV. 1.17. 116(12)
17. ibid.
18. RV. I. 17. 117(22).
19. IB. 1.18.22; Kaus B.VIII, 3-7; VS XXXVI-XXXIX.
20. SB. XIII. 1-8 (8); I. 1.2 (13); Kaus B 4.2; 18.5. 14; Ta B 9.6. 10; Go B (uttarabhāga) 4 6; Tai B. 1.2-5 (1).
21. SB. 1.1.3(1); 1.6.3(9); 3.4.1(14); 5.2.3(6); 6.3.1(29); Go B (uttarabhāga) 1.12; 6.7; Ta B 6.7; Kaus B 16.8(32).
22. SB. 14.1.1(10); Tai B 3.9.23.2.
23. SB. 6.3.1(29); Tai A 5.3.18.
24. Tai A. 4.3.
25. Tadghrīṇṇiti papāta tatpatitvā 'sāvādityo' bhavat.
26. Bṛ Up. I. 1.1(2).
27. Unpublished notes on Hayagrīva by Sri V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu.
28. Abhinava Ranganatha, Hayaśīra Upakhyāna, Mysore 1954, pp. 369-377.

CHAPTER II

Mythological Legends

1. Introductory

Hayagriva legends are found in the *Mahābhārata* and in many *Purāṇas*. The accounts found in them are conflicting. But they provide us valuable material regarding the origin of *Hayagrīva*-concept and the extent of the cult of this deity in ancient India. It is a general practice to treat the material contained in the *Mahābhārata* in the beginning before the purāṇic literature. But I deal here with the legends found in the *Devī Bhāgavata* and the *Skāndapurāṇa* at the outset of this chapter, because they show a continuity of the *pravargya* legend of the Vedic texts with some variations.

We have seen in the Vedic literature that the incarnation of the horse-headed one is not attributed to *Viṣṇu* but to *Yajña* or *Makha*. We know also *Yajña*, according to the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* is nothing but a proto-form of *Viṣṇu*. The legend that appears in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* etc., in the varied versions, is developed even in the *Purāṇas* with changes in details of the story.

2. The story of the Vedic Pravargya - Purāṇic legends

a) *The Devī Bhāgavata*

In continuation of the legend which is found in the Vedic literature in connection with *Pravargya*, we come across a similar story in the *Devī Bhāgavata*, where we find a *Hayagrīva*, a demon killed by his namesake *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva*. The origin of the event of the separation of *Viṣṇu's* head from his trunk is also found in the *Devī Bhāgavata*. First we shall examine the details of the story.

Once *Mahāviṣṇu* desired to rest for some time to recoup himself from the fatigue, which resulted from the long fight for thousands of years with the demons. At that time the gods made preparations to perform a sacrifice. Because *Mahāviṣṇu* was the master of sacrifices performed in honour of the gods, they could not begin it without his presence. So *Brahmā* and others went to *Vaikuṇṭha*, the abode of *Viṣṇu* to meet and invite him. But they could not find him there. Then *Brahmā* and others could see through their power of meditation where *Viṣṇu* was. Finally they went to the place where he was in deep Yogic slumber and waited there for a long time. But *Viṣṇu* did not awake. Then *Brahmā* had a plan that flashed in his mind to awake *Viṣṇu*. It was to create termites *(vamrī)* to eat the end of the drawn bow. When they ate away the end of the bow planted on the ground, the chord connecting the two ends of the bow would break, the bow would straighten up and the quick abrupt jerk of it would awaken *Viṣṇu*. According to his plan *Brahmā* created termites *(vamrī)*. The termites argued that the benefit of awakening Lord *Viṣṇu* from deep sleep would go only to the gods, while the sin of awakening a sleeping person would fall upon them. In this context the following purāṇic verse is found :

nidrābhaṅgaḥ kathācchedo dampatyoḥ prītibhedanam |
śiśumātṛvibhedaśca brahmahatyāsamam smṛtaṁ ||
The *Devī Bhāgavata* 1.5.20.

> "To disturb one deep in sleep, to interrupt a story, to separate husband and wife, also mother and child from each other — the results of these deds are similar to the killing of a *Brahmin (brahmahatya)*."

Brahmā conceded the fairness of their argument and accepted that, in future, a part of the benefit of the *Yajña* shall go to the termites. It was after this the sacrificial offering *(havis)* which in the course of being submitted to the fire falls on the sides of the pit of fire became the share of the termites. The promise of *Brahmā* pleased the termites and they did their job entrusted by Him. The bow of *Viṣṇu* straightened up with a terrific sound. The gods were terrified; the whole universe was shocked; the earth experienced a convulsion and the oceans too were agitated. Moreover the head of *Viṣṇu* which was out from the trunk rose high up into the sky. When *Brahmā* and other gods opened their eyes they found only the body of *Viṣṇu* lying there without the head. They were much worried about the unexpected outcome. *Brahmā* ordered the *Vedas* to praise *Devī* in the form of *Mahāmāya* for solving this problem. The latter consoled the gods and told them that the curse given by Mahālakṣmī is the cause for this happening. She also enlightened them regarding the significance of the loss of *Viṣṇu's* head viz., the facilitating of the destruction of the demon *Hayagrīva*. Further she instructed the gods to approach *Viśvakarman* to fix a horse-head on *Viṣṇu's* trunk to serve the purpose.

The significance of *Viṣṇu* in the horse-headed form is substantiated by two important factors. In ordinary course nothing happens in this universe without a cause. This occurrence is caused by a curse given to *Viṣṇu*. This is typical to the purāṇic explanations of puzzling situations. This happening has not only fulfilled the purpose of the curse given by *Mahālakṣmi* but also became benificial to the world due to the destruction of the wicked demon who bagged a boon from *Devi* only to be killed by a horse-headed being.

Now, we take up the event of the curse of *Mahālakṣmī*, which caused the loss of *Viṣṇu's* head. *Mahāviṣṇu* once looking at the face of *Lakṣmī* simply laughed witout any apparent reason. *Lakṣmī*, thinking that *Viṣṇu* was ridiculing her because he had an eye on some other woman more beautiful than she, lost her temper. She became angry and cursed *Viṣṇu* that his head should be severed from his body. This horrible curse which would cause her to be a widow is symbolically explained in the following way. Being overpowered by the influence of *Tāmasiśakti*, which entered her, *Mahālakṣmī* thought that another woman as a co-wife would cause her more pain than being a widow. So she might have cursed unwittingly because of the influence of the Goddess and for also serving a universal divine purpose, viz., the destruction of the demon *Hayagrīva*.[2]

The following is the legend of the demon *Hayagrīva*. After renouncing all enjoyments he controlled his senses and abstained from food. He began to do penance on the banks of the river *Sarasvatī*. He repeated incessantly the one-syllable *Māyā-bīja mantra* of *Devī* in the form of *Tāmasīśakti*. After passing a thousand years, the *Devī* appeared before him and asked him to select any boon he wished. The demon *Hayagrīva* wanted to become invincible to the demons as well as to the gods and be deathless. At that time *Devī* told him that such a boon was out of the question, because death is an inevitable phenomenon to every being that is born. Then, knowing that *Devī* was not in favour of his desire for immortality, he wanted another boon as an alternative Viz., that he should not be killed by anyone but a horse-headed being. Finally this boon was granted to him by *Devī*.

The demon *Hayagrīva*, having got this boon, became naughty and over-confident. Because there is none in the three worlds to kill him, he started tormenting all seers and gods. As he could be killed only by the horse-headed being, the attack on him became fruitless.

As narrated before, the gods requested *Viśvakarman* to put a horse-head on *Viṣṇu's* trunk. According to the instructions of *Devī* for killing the indomitable *asura-Hayagrīva*, *Viśvakarman* quickly cut off with his axe, the head of a horse and transplanted it on the headless body of *Viṣṇu*. Thus, it is said that *Viṣṇu* became a horse-headed one by the grace of *Mahāmāyā*. According to Devi's plan, the horse-faced *Viṣṇu* killed the demon by her force. The reading of the whole story that is narrated in the fifth chapter of the fifth *skandha* of the *Devī Bhāgavata* would produce a great merit in any man. It can liberate him also certainly from all sorts of difficulties.[4] Further, the *Purāṇa* in its *phalaśruti ślokas* prescribes that hearing or reading of *Mahāmāyā's* glorious deeds, pure and sin-destroing, gives all sorts of wealth. One can understand that the spirit of the *purāṇa* is to praise the glory of *Devī*, in the form of *Mahāmāyā*.[5]

The story of the loss of *Viṣṇu's* head, found in the vedic texts, is expanded in the *purāṇas* with their typical reasoning and fantacy by including the stories relating to the curse of *Mahālakṣmī* and relating to the promise in the form of a boon given to *Devī's* worshipper, the demon *Hayagrīva*. These two important events are connected with the main story, in which *Devī* played an important and glorious role.

b) *The Skānda Purāṇa*

We come across in the *Skānda Purāṇa* a version of the origin of the deity *Hayagrīva*. In it we find an impact of the Vedic *pravargya* legend. The story of *Viṣṇu–Hayagrīva* appears in the *Dharmāraṇyakhaṇḍa* of the *Skānda Purāṇa* (Ch. XIV–XV). There we have a dialogue among *Yudhiṣṭhira*, *Vyāsa*, *Skanda* and *Īśvara*. *Yudhiṣṭhira* inquires about the penances done by *Viṣṇu*. *Vyāsa* tells him about *Viṣṇus* severe penance in a pilgrim centre called *Dharmāraṇya*. *Skanda* questions how *Hari* had performed penance in the *Dharmāraṇya*, where a *tīrtha* called *Devasaras* existed. *Īśvara* said that there in this holy place the horse-headed *Viṣṇu* did his penance for regaining His original form by getting rid off His horse-head. Then *Skanda* asks how and why the great *Hari* became horse-headed one.[6] In course of the dialogue among these purāṇic personalities, *Vyāsa* narrates that at one time the gods wanted to perform a sacrifice on the earth. They decided to invite *Hari* and went to *Vaikuṇṭha*, the milk-ocean and also the nether world in search of Him for this purpose. But *Hari* could not be found anywhere. On enquiry they came to know that only *Bṛhaspati* could tell gods with his divine vision where *Hari* could be found. The gods finally went to *Hari* and found Him absorbed in deep meditation *(Yogārūḍha)* with a tentioned bow in his arm. They, failing to bring him to senses, requested a kind of insects *(vaṃrī)* present there to eat away the string of the bow for serving the purpose of awakening *Hari*. The *vaṃri*-insects speak of sin of awakening a person who is in deep sleep.[7] Here the same verse as one finds in the *Devī Bhāgavata* in the same context is reproduced.

Not only on the basis of the sin involved in awakening a person but also due to the wish that they should have a share in *Yajña*, the *vaṃri*-insects expressed their unwillingness to undertake this task. Getting a promise from the gods that the insects will be provided with a share in *Yajña*, they fulfilled their wish of the former. The cord being cut, severed unexpectedly the head of *Hari*, which at once went to the Heaven.[8] Then the gods requested the help of *Viśvakarman* to put a head on the body of *Viṣṇu*. *Viśvakarman* demanded the head of *Viṣṇu* for this purpose and also requested to have share in *Yajña* for undertaking the job of transplanting a head on *Viṣṇu's* trunk. But gods could not provide *Viṣṇu's* head to *Viśvakarman* because they could not find it anywhere. On behalf of gods, *Brahmā* promised a share in the sacrifice to *Viśvakarman*. It was then mid-day, *Viśvakarman* found handy horses of the Sun and cut off one of their heads and joined it very efficiently to the trunk of *Viṣṇu*. Thus, *Viṣṇu* became *Hayagrīva*. Seeing *Viṣṇu* in that form, the gods started to praise Him. In course of this praise the association of *Yajña* with *Viṣṇu* is extolled with the epithets like "*Yajñapati*" etc , which is very important in this context.[9]

Then *Brahmā* and other gods performed successfully a *satra* sacrifice and also offered shares of sacrifice to the *vamrī*-insects and *Viśvakarman*. When the *Yajña* was over *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva* went to a holy place called *Dharmāraṇya* and did penances there. By the blessings of Lord *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* got back his former head.

In this *Purāṇa* also, we get a different reason for the curse which caused *Viṣṇu* to loose his head and to become a horse-headed one, a legend that is structurally altogether different from that of the one mentioned in the *Devī Bhāgavata*. Once upon a time *Brahmā*, being proud, started a dispute in his court for concluding who is the greatest one among *trimūrtis–Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*. First he questioned the gods about this. But they expressed their inability to answer it. *Viṣṇu* said that everybody in the three worlds is overpowered by *Viṣṇumāyā*. It became evident that *Mahāviṣṇu* was in every respect superior to all the others. *Brahmā* did not relish this and cursed that *Viṣṇu* should lose his head.[10] Thus, this curse, according to this *Purāṇa*, caused the incarnation of *Viṣṇu* as a horse-headed person.

It is clear that the above-mentioned stories appear in both the *Devī Bhāgavata* and the *Skānda Purāṇa* regarding the details of the origin and the purpose of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* with slight variations. In the *Devī Bhāgavata, Devī* played an important role but not in the *Skāndapurāṇa*, where the Lord *Śiva* plays a part in blessing the horse-headed *Viṣṇu* for regaining His original form. The person who fixes the horse's head on *Viṣṇu's* trunk is *Viśvakarman* in both the Purāṇas, but the word '*tvaṣṭrā*' is used for *Viśvakarman* in the *Devī Bhāgavata*. The peculiarity of the transplantation of horse's head in the *Skāndapurāṇa* is that the head of one of the Sun's horses was cut off and fixed to the body of *Viṣṇu*. Reminding one of the Vedic legend of *Pravargya*. In both the cases the termites demanded a share in the sacrifice, whereas *Viśvakarman* also wanted to have a share in the sacrifice for undertaking the task of fixing the head of *Viśṇu*, which reminds us the demand of *Aśvins* in the Vedic texts. The stories of the origin of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* are connected with the curses given by *Mahālakṣmī* and *Brahmā* in the *Devī Bhāgavata* and the *Skāndapurāṇa* respectively. The purpose of the emergence of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* differs in these texts. In the *Devī Bhāgavata*, the purpose of killing of the demon–*Hayagrīva* by *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva* is served whereas there is no reference to the demon *Hayagrīva* in the *Skāndapurāṇa*, in which the purpose of the participation of *Viṣṇu* in a horse-head form in the sacrifice is stressed. When the *Yajña* is over, the story regarding *Hayagrīva* practically ends exeept for the event of *Viṣṇu* regaining his original head by the grace of Lord *Śiva* in the *Dharmāraṇya*.

2. References to Hayagrīva in the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa

Having dealt with the legends of *Hayagrīva* which show a line of evolution of the story developed thematically out of the Vedic context, we proceed now to the *Mahābhārata*. As far as the *Mahābhārata* is concerned, we find the legend of *Hayagrīva* as altogether different from the previous ones in its tone and content. The main story of *Hayagrīva* in the *Mahābhārata* stresses the important point that *Viṣṇu* in the horse-headed form is the recoverer and promulgator of the *Vedas*, stolen by the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*, which fact led him to become the Lord of learning and wisdom. The central theme here is neither the destruction of the demon *Hayagrīva* nor the participation of *Viṣṇu* in a *Yajña* in his horse-headed form, but the revival of the Vedas.

The names - *Aśvaśiras* (MBh. XII. 126.3), *Hayaśiras* (MBh. V. 97.5) and *Vaḍavāmukha* (MBh. XII. 329.48) appear prominently in the *Mahābhārata* as epithets to denote *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva*. Especially the name *Hayamukha* (MBh. I. 23.16) is used to refer to *Garuḍa*. This reminds us of the Vedic references relating to *tārkṣya*, a winged horse. We also come across certain references to persons called by a name *Hayagrīva*. This shows the settlement of a story of a particular deity surrounded by a legend for making use of it by later generations as a proper name.

Before dealing with the main *Hayagrīva* story in the *Mahābhārata*, we shall discuss certain references to the horse-headed deity found in different contexts.

1. In the *Mahābhārata* (MBh. V. 97-5), *Nārada* describes the nether world *(pātāla)* which lies in the middle of the world of snakes. He says that here in the world of *Pātāla*, on every auspicious occasion, the horse-headed deity with golden complexion rises and fills the world that is called *suvarṇabha*, filled with waters, with the Vedic hymns. In the Bombay edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the reading in this context is :

> *atra ādityo hayaśirah kāle parvaṇi parvaṇi |*
> *uttiṣṭhati suvarṇābhaṃ vārbhirāpūrayan jagat ||*

The word "*divyo*" instead of "*ādityo*" is used in the critical edition.[11]

If we adopt this reference of the Bombay edition with '*āditya*' as an epithet to *Hayaśiras*, it indicates the association of the horse-headed one with the *āditya*. This reminds us of the general connection between the Sun and the steed and also of the identification of *Viṣṇu* as a later stratum of composition, when the horse-headed form has already settled down together with the conception of the revival of the *Vedas*.

2. Similarly in another instance, we find the association of the Vedas with the horse-headed deity. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 126.3), where the name *Hayaśiras* is alternated with that of *Aśvaśiras*, a seer tells us about a beautiful region called *Badarī*, the abode of *Nara* and *Nārāyaṇa*. The passage under consideration is as follows: "Where *(Badarī)*, O King ! *Aśvaśiras* reads the eternal Vedas".

3. We find another aspect of the horse-headed one in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 326 56), which brings to our memory *Viṣṇu's* association with *Yajña*. In this context *Viṣṇu* appears before the sage *Nārada* and says, "In the shape of a horse-headed one in the north-western ocean, I receive good oblations to the gods *(havya)* and offerings to the manes *(kavya)*, brought with devotion."

4. At one instance in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 329-48) we come across the horse-headed one as a fire-spitting swallower. The following is a detailed description of the horse-headed one in this form. Formerly Lord *Nārāyaṇa* became the great seer *Vaḍavāmukha* for the benifit of the mankind. While doing penance on Mount *Meru*, he summoned the occean to him. When it did not come, he transformed it into liquid water by the glow of his own body and at the same time he made its water salty like his own sweat. Further he also said to the ocean that its water would be undrinkable. But he suggested a way out of this curse, viz., when it is drunk by a being called *Vāḍavāmukha*, its water would become sweet. Apparently the epithet *Vaḍavāmukha* is connected with *Viṣṇu* through the incarnation of *Nārāyaṇa* in the form of *Hayagrīva*. We have also references to the epithet *Vaḍavāmukha* connected with the fire-god[12] and also Lord *Śiva*.[13]

In the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, we learn how *Viṣṇu* as the horse-headed one brings back the stolen *Vedas* and how he kills the thieves *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*. The important events of the story are as follows. *Vaiśampāyana* inquired about the origin of the horse-headed one, who was mentioned before as a receiver of offerings to both the gods and manes *(havya-kavya)*. As an answer to this inquiry the story of *Hayagrīva* is here narrated.

Once, the Lord *Brahmā* was seated on a thousand petalled lotus together with *Vedas*. At that time *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*, who were born as personifications of the qualities of *tamas* and *rajas* respectively according to the wish of the Lord *Nārāyaṇa*, were attracted by the shining Vedic texts. They robbed the *Vedas* by force from *Brahmā* and took them away to the world of *rasātala*. Because the Vedas were considered to be the eyes of wisdom to *Brahmā*, he felt that he had lost his sight when he lost the *Vedas*. He started to pray for the aid of *Viṣṇu* for bringing back the stolen *Vedas*. *Viṣṇu*, who awoke from His yogic slumber, was determined to regain the *Vedas*. He assumed a new form with His divine power, which is nothing but the horse-headed one. Then shining like the Moon, with a beautiful nose, Lord *Viṣṇu* went to the place where the *Vedas* were hidden. He thus entered into the nether world and began to recite the Vedic hymns in a melodious voice. The two demons were attracted by the melodious recitation of the Vedic hymns and went to find out the origin of these sweet sounds, leaving the *Vedas* behind. In the meantime *Viṣṇu* went to the place where the *Vedas* were kept by demons, took possession of them and gave them back to *Brahmā*. The two demons came back having searched in vain for the divine singer. Not finding the *Vedas* where they were kept, they guessed that they were stolen by *Viṣṇu*. They looked for *Viṣṇu* and challenged Him to battle. In His horse-headed form *Viṣṇu* defeated them. The story ends with the words "There did the majestic *Hari* formerly assumed the form with the horse's head. This boon-giving Lordly shape is celebrated as an ancient form of His." [14]

An element of allegory is linked with the story of *Hayagrīva's* killing of *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*. Mention has already been made that both *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* are symbolic representations of the qualities, the passionate-*rajas* and inert-*tamas*, which qualities are always inherently opposed to the luminous pure-*sattva*, a quality, which is symbolic of *Viṣṇu*. This motif is maintained through out the story. It is stated that both the demons possessed the qualities – *rajas* and *tamas*, because they were originated from them. Symbolically the Vedas represent the knowledge through which sattva-hood is obtained. Why should these *Vedas* be stolen by the demons? Before the creation of the Universe the creater *Brahmā* became proud of his possession of knowledge in the form of the *Vedas*. *Viṣṇu* wanted to make him realise his true status by removing his ego. He created the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* symbolising *tamas* and *rajas*, who always wanted to grab and rob the treasure of the Vedic knowledge. The confrontation between Lord *Viṣṇu* in the form of the horse-headed one and the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* is nothing but a battle between the *sattva*-quality on the one side and the qualities of *rajas* and *tamas* on the other. In this battle the *Sattva* obtains victory. *Viṣṇu* in this legend is described as a Supreme person, whose treasure is spotless pure *sattva (niṣkalmaṣena sattvena saṁpannaṁ)* (MBh. XII. 335.59).

There are differences in the accounts regarding the origin and purpose of the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*. According to the *Devī Bhāgavata*[15] these two demons were born from the ear-wax which flowed out of both the ears of *Mahāviṣṇu,* who slept on the surface of the primeval waters in the beginning of time, when there was no earth or any other planet. According to the *Mahābhārata* a lotus flower grew from the navel of *Mahāviṣṇu* and from the flower was born *Brahmā*. In that flower there were two drops of water created by *Mahāviṣṇu*, one drop as sweet as honey, from which *Madhu* with the attributes of *tamas* was born, and the other drop, which was hard, *Kaiṭabha* with the attributes of *rajas* was born.[16]

In contrast to the legend in the *Mahābhārata*, in the legend of the *Devī Bhāgavata* we do not find *Viṣṇu* in the horse-headed form in this context. We have already stated what purpose the horse-headed one served in the *Devī Bhāgavata*. As far as the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* are concerned, as usual, the story is developed there for glorifying *Devī*, from whom they acquired the boon that death should befall only as and when they desire. Here also the event of the theft of the Vedas by them is mentioned. Only *Viṣṇu*, plays the role of the destroyer of these demons but without assuming the horse-headed shape.

It is important to note here how the purāṇic characters appear in two different legends with similar or dissimilar functions. In this context, a casual reference should be made to the theft of the Vedās. According to one legend it is not the demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭubha* who have stolen the Vedās but the demon *Hayagrīva*, who was punished for this offence by Lord *Viṣṇu* in the incarnation of fish.

It is customary to raise the status of a deity by giving a cosmic form to him, in which the different aspects of the universe are included in a pantheistic manner. Reminding us of conceiving mystic cosmic form of the *aśvamedha* sacrificial horse in the Vedic texts which is interpreted as the cosmic form of *Viṣṇu*, even the legend of *Hayagrīva* in the *Mahābhārata* provides us with a description of the cosmic form of His. When *Viṣṇu* took a horse-headed shape, He is described in terms of the cosmic form as follows: "His head was the firmament with lunar mansions and stars. His hair was long, radiating like the rays of the Sun. His ears were the atmosphere and the under world whereas his forehead was the earth. The rivers *Gaṅgā* and *Sarasvatī* were his lips while his eye-brows were two great oceans. The Moon and the Sun were his eyes, while his nose is said to have been twilight. The holy syllable "Om" was his notion, lightening was his tongue and his teeth are said to have been the ancestral fathers who drink the *soma* juice. The *Goloka* and the *Brahmaloka* were the lips of the exhalted one and his neck was the night of doom."[18] Thus, the horse-headed Lord, who is the ruler of everything in the universe, is praised in terms of the above descriptions.

Similar descriptions of the cosmic form of *Viṣṇu* in his horse-headed shape are also found in the *Harivamśa*. The text is as follows: "Having been praised in this way by different saints and ascetics, the great *Hari* remembered and assumed his vast body with the horse's head. The Vedas made up his shape, his body consisted of all the gods; in the middle of his head was *Śiva*, in his heart was *Brahmā;* the rays of the sun were his hair, the sun and the moon were his eyes; the *Vasus* aud *Sādhyās* were his legs, and in all his joints were the gods. *Agni* was his tongue, the goddess *Satyā* his speech, while his knees were formed by the *Maruts* and *Varuna*. Having assumed this form, a great wonder to the gods, *Viṣṇu*, with eyes that were red with anger, thrusted the great *asura* down.[19]

Mention has been already made regarding the demon *Hayagrīva* in the *Devi Bhāgavata*. The important matter for our discussion on this subject is the conception of the demon *Hayagriva* which appears in different texts in different contexts. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 65.23 and 1) we find the conception of demons, in whose names the word that means 'horse' appears. Mentioned among the sons of *Danu*, who were called *Dānavās*, next to *Śambara*, are *Puloman* and *Keśin* and others as also *Aśvaśiras*, *Aśvagrīva*, *Aśvaśaṅkha*, *Aśvapati* etc. Here we do not clearly know whether one of the demons in whose name the word *aśva* appears, is identical with the demon *Hayagrīva* mentioned in another place in the *Mahābhārata* (V. 128.49) where *Vidura* describes the miraculous power of *Śrīkṛṣṇa* to *Duryodhana*, and says among other things : 'While sleeping on the vast deep waters, he killed *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* and in another birth *Hayagriva* too was slain. 'The *Mahābhārata* has already given us the understanding that both *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* were killed on account of their theft of the Vedas. We do not know whether *Hayagriva* was punished for a similar transgression or for any other offence. This passage gives no further details, and only implies the slaying of the demon *Hayagrīva* who is barely mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as an enemy of Lord *Viṣṇu*. It became a source of inspiration for the development of a legend around the demon *Hayagrīva* in the later texts. Thus, the demon *Hayagriva* occupies a prominent position in the *Harivaṁśa* and later in the *Devī Bhāgavata* and other texts.

In the *Harivaṁśa* (31.68-70) the demon *Hayagrīva* is mentioned as an enemy of all gods, especially of Lord *Viṣṇu*, who, in his incarnation of *Vāmana*, measures the universe with his three steps. Among other demons the *asura-Hayagrīva* also opposes *Viṣṇu*.

We have already seen that *Viṣṇu* killed the demon *Hayagrīva* in his incarnation of fish. After the narration of the fight between *Viṣṇu (matsya)* and the demon *Hayāgrīva* the story of the great deluge is related in great length in the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa*. Thanks to the warning of the fish form of *Viṣṇu*, the good king *Satyavrata* and the seven seers are the only ones who escaped from this great deluge. This legend is concluded with the following details. When the danger of destruction due to the great deluge was over, *Hari*, having killed the demon *Hayagrīva*, brought the Vedas back to the creator *Brahmā*. This incident tells us of the temporal sequence during which the incarnation of *Hayagrīva* took place. The same story is related in the *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Mastyapurāṇa*. In the *Mastyapurāṇa* (ch. 53), it is said that when the world was burnt down in a great dissolution, *Viṣṇu* in the form of a horse recompiled the four *Vedas*, *Vedāṅgas*, *Nyāyavistāra*, *Mīmāṁsa* and the *Dharmaśāstra*. Although this passage keeps the association of the deity *Hayagrīva* with learning and wisdom in the form of Vedas and Vedāṅgās etc., it seems that this is obviously a later elobaration of the *Hayagrīva* legend, because of its inclusion of the later texts in the list along with the Vedas. The important point to note here is the way how the demon *Hayagrīva* appears as an opponent to *Viṣṇu* in his different incarnations.

The demon *Hayagrīva* is also one of the participants in the legend of the great *Tāraka-batıle*. Once the demons invaded the gods. At that time *Viṣṇu* came to their rescue. The *Harivaṁśa* (33-15) says: "Then the demon *Hayagrīva* appears in the chariot drawn by a thousand horses, crushing the enemies." Finally this demon was destroyed by *Viṣṇu*.

Elsewhere it is narrated that the mighty demon *Naraka* being over-confident offended the gods. He marched to the battle with his four commanders viz. *Hayagriva*, *Nisunda*, *Pañcanada* and *Mura*.[20] The *Harivaṃśa* describes how the demon *Hayagriva* bravely fought with the Lord *Viṣṇu* who was in the form of *Kṛṣṇa*.

So far we have dealt with the story of *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* as a protector and reviver of the Vedas as told in the *Mahābhārata*. We have also discussed details regarding the demon *Hayagrīva*, who gained a prominent position in the *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, and his enemity to the Lord *Viśṇu* in different incarnations. Here we encounter a problem regarding the demon *Hayagrīva* who appears in different contexts. It is not clear whether we have one and the same demon *Hayagriva* who appears in different situations or we have different *Hayagrīvas* One may say that the same demon *Hayagriva* appears in different life times to oppose Lord *Viṣṇu*, who incarnates himself in different life times.

For example, the suggestion of the incarnation of *Hayagrīva* as *Keśin* will illustrate this point. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[21] gives an older version of the story of *Keśin* who is not at all connected with the demon *Hayagrīva*. He is there simply a demon in the shape of a horse, summoned and sent by *Kaṁsa* to kill the two children *Kṛṣṇa* and *Balarāma*. But this demon was eventually destroyed by *Kṛṣṇa*. The fact that *Keśin* as well as *Hayagrīva*, by their names and descriptions suggesting a horse's form and their role as enemies of *Viṣṇu*, gives us a scope for identifying them as one and the same through different life times, as it is described in the *Harivaṁśa* (44-67). Such identifications of legendary personalities through different lives are very frequent in the Indian epic tradition.

3. The Demon Jvarāsura and Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva

In contrast to the independent lines of development of the *Hayagrīva* story, one in continuation of the Vedic *pravargya* and the other, *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* as the destroyer of *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*, we have a third version of the *Hayagrīva*-story in the *Kālikā purāṇa*. It is of comparatively a later origin. According to the *Kālikā purāṇa*, *Hayagrīva*, who is also known as *Hayaśiras* and *Aśvaśiras*, killed the fever-demon *(jvarāsura)* and stayed at *Maṇikūṭa* hill for the good of all men, gods and demons (KP. 81.77). Being afflicted with fever *(jvara)* and because of his killing of the fever-demon, *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* took a recovery bath in a lake situated nearby. This lake was called '*apunarbhava*' because a dip into it would put an end to rebirth (KP. 81. 74 ff).

The same *purāṇa* refers to the old *purāṇic* motif of killing of the demon *Hayagrīva* by *Viṣṇu* in the waters of the *Vṛddhagaṅgā* and on the bank of the *Brahmaputrā*, where the temple of Viśvanātha was situated. It is said that *Viṣṇu*, the Lord of the world, after having killed the demon-*Hayagrīva*, went to the hill *Maṇikūṭa* and settled down there (KP. 83.24 f). In this context, the word '*Jagatpati*' which means the Lord of the world but not *Hayagrīva* or *Hayaśiras* is used to refer to *Viṣṇu*. In spite of this, in the verse immediately following the description of

'*Jagatpati*' of the *Maṇikūta* hill, which is a well-known centre of *Hayagrīva Mādhava* even now at Hajo in Assam, there is a reference to the worship of *Garuḍadhvaja* with *Hayagrīvamantra*. These factors point to the likelihood that the killer of the demon *Hayagrīva* is none but *Viṣṇu Hayagrīva* himself. The development of this motif is not new, but the killing of *jvarāsura* by *Hayagrīva* adds a new element to the existing versions.

On the whole we have three important lines of development of the story of the horse-headed one. First, the stories exhibit the continuation of the Vedic theme of *pravargya* with alterations, depending on the fertile imagination of *purāṇic* composers. This is an illustration of unilinear evolution of a legend from one basic theme with certain additions and ommissions in course of time. Second, the story that is narrated in the *Mahābhārata* seems to have gained much more hold on the Indian tradition in course of centuries because of the fixation of the concept of *Hayagrīva* in the minds of worshippers as a bestower of learning and wisdom. This conception took its roots in the *Mahābhārata* story of *Hayagrīva* as the reviver of the Vedas. This version has nothing to do with the Vedic theory of *pravargya*. Third, in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* the event of the killing of the fever-demon by *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva* is an independent version. Here the destruction of the fever-demon seems to be the specific purpose of the incarnation of the horse-headed form of Viṣṇu.

These three versions had separately been developed with distinct features serving different purposes. This may be described as multi-linear process of the development of legends relating to one purāṇic deity or character. Although these versions are independent of each other with their own distinct features, they exhibit the intensive mutual influence and impact among themselves. Among these versions the legend of *Hayagrīva* in the *Mahābhārata* obviously seems to be the earliest one, at least as far as the mythological lore is concerned. The later texts together with the additions of curses and boons typical to the purāṇic fantacy for the purpose of glorify some god or goddess of their peculiar sectarian choice. Regarding the story of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, where *Hayāgrīva* acts as the killer of *Jvarāsura* we find a trend of incorporation of a local legend restricted to the eastern part of India, particularly Assam. The appearance of the ancient motif of the demon *Hayagrīva* in the *Kālīkā purāṇa*, in addition to that of the destruction of *Jvarāsura* may presuppose that this *purāṇa* simply compiled these two versions without any sense of consistency. It is also possible that the authors of this *purāṇa* might have thought that both the aforementioned killings of the two demons were the playful acts of a single deity in the same incarination in different situations.

4. Hayagrīva's Emergence and Worship according to the purāṇic Geography

In this section, we shall discuss references in the *Mahābhārata* and in the different purāṇas regarding the regions and places, with which *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* is associated, in the light of purāṇic geography. We know the story in the *Mahābhārata* which narrates the theft of the Vedas by *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* who took their booty, the Vedas, to the nether world called *Pātāla* (XII.335ff). This event might have prompted the purāṇic character *Nārada* to state that the horse-headed one fills the world called *Suvarṇa* with the recitation of the Vedic hymns on every auspicious occasion.[23] This mention includes the description of the *Pātāla* which lies in the middle of the world of snakes. Continuing this motif of the emergence of the incarnation of *Hayagrīva* in deep waters when there was no current creation proper, a reference is made in the *Mahābhārata* where the horse-headed one receives offerings made to the gods and the manes in the north-western ocean.[24] In the story of the horse-headed one in the form of *Vaḍavāmukha*, it is the Mount *Meru* which is the centre of the world, according to the purāṇic conception, where *Vaḍavāmukha* in the form of a seer did his penance. At present, ignoring places of the legendary purāṇic conception, according to its cosmography, we refer to the place *Badarī*, which is even now existent as a well-known pilgrim centre in the extreme north in the Himālayas and its association with *Hayagrīva*. It is said, in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* that *Aśvaśiras* reads the eternal Vedas in a beautiful region called *Badarī*, the abode of *Nara* and *Nārāyāṇa*.[25]

The *Mahābhārata* and also the *Vāmanapurāṇa* refer to the regions of the *Pāñcālajanapada*, (*Kampilya*, modern Kampel, a village in the Farukkabad district of U.P., was the capital of Southern *Pāñcālā* - while *Ahicchatra* in the same state was that of the northern *Pāñcāla*) as being sacred to *Hayagrīva*.[26] The *Vāmanapurāṇa* (57.25–27) refers to a sacred place named *Aśvatirtha*[27] near the city of *Mahodaya* of the modern Kanauj. Here the demon king *Prahlāda* worshipped the horse-faced god (*turangānana*) and then reached the *Pāñcāla* country to which reference has been already made.[28]

The region *Bhadrāśva*, where the worship of *Viṣṇu* took place in the form of the horse-headed one, has been mentioned by different purāṇic texts. It is one of the island continents, *caturdvīpavasumatī*. According to the conception of 'caturdvīpavasumatī', the earth with four island continents, was shaped like a lotus having the Mount *Meru* as its pericarp (*karṇikā*), and the four island continents as its four petals. These are : 1. the *Kuru* or *Uttarakuru* in the north, 2. the *Jambū* or *Bharata* in the south, 3. *Bhadrāśva* in the east and 4. *Ketumāla* in the west.[29] We have another conception of the earth with seven islands, '*saptadvīpavasumatī*', where the *Jambhūdvīpa* was devided into seven such island continents which included both *Bhadrāśva* and *Ketumāla*.[30] According to a few purāṇic references found in the *Vāyu* (ch. 33–34), the *Matsya* (Ch. 130) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (ch. 54), *Priyavrata*, the king of *Jambūdvipa*, divided the kingdom among his sons. In this account also, *Bhadrāśva* (*mālyavadvrṣa*) and *Ketumāla* (*gandhamādanavarṣa*) regions are found. With this informative background regarding the region *Bhadrāśva* of ancient cosmography we come to the individual references to it, associated with the deity *Hayagrīva*. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (II. 49-50) mentions that in the region called *Bhadrāśva*, *Viṣṇu* is worshipped as a horse-headed one, in the *Ketumāla* in the form of a boar, in *Bharata*. in the form of a tortoise and in *Kuru* in the form of a fish, while he is found in the cosmic form (*Viśvarūpa*) everywhere. This sort of geographical location, where the worship of various forms of *Viṣṇu* were in vogue, is also supported by a passage found in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (ch. LIV. 31). The same *purāṇa* further states : "In *Bhadrāśva*, the Lord *Janārdana* has a horse's head and four arms, resembling a horse and he has three eyes.' Except for the peculiarity of the three eyes, the description of the horse-headed one, specially connected with the *Bhadrāśva* region, holds good also in this context.

We learn from the Skāndapurāṇa that *Kūrma*, a form of *Viṣṇu*, is the presiding deity of *Bharata*, as other gods presided over other regions, e g., *Aśvaśiras* in *Bhadrāśva*, *Varāha* in *Ketumāla* and *Matsya* in the North (probably *uttarakuru*).[31]

The *Vāmanapurāṇa* speaks of a different place, where *Hayagrīva* is worshipped. In addition to the already referred place *Mahodaya* (Kanauj), this *purāṇa* (ch. 36, VV. 23–25) says that *Hayagrīva* is worshipped on the river *Kṛṣṇā*. This purāṇa attributes the name of *Bhadrāśva* to the horse of *Viṣṇu*, but not to a particular region called *Bhadrāśva*, already mentioned.

Now, we turn to the eastern region of India where the *Maṇikūṭa* hill is always associated with the deity *Hayagrīva*, according to the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (81–75). The *Kālikāpurāṇa* gives an account of the region *Kāmarūpa* (modern region of Assam, which extends as far west as the river *Karatoya* in the Bogra district, Bengal). Among others, it contains the names of *Maṇikūta* and *Nilaparvata*. We have already seen that *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva*, after killing *Jvarāsura*, retired to the Mount *Maṇikūṭa* (KP. 83.24). On the mount *Nīla* the well-known *Kāmākhyapīṭha* is situated. The Mount is now in the vicinity of Gauhati. The river *Lauhitya* passes through the mountains *Maṇikūṭa* and *Gandhamādana* of *Bharatavarṣa*. It has been mentioned already that according to the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, *Viṣṇu* in His *Hayagrīva* form not only killed the fever-demon but also the demon *Hayagrīva*. Both these occurrences which were compiled in this *purāṇa* took place on the mount *Maṇikūṭa*. This factor gives some idea of the antiquity of the *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* image on the mount *Maṇikūṭa*, which is at modern Hajo, near Gauhati in Assam. In this context we have to understand more details regarding the Mount *Maṇikūṭa*, where *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* is worshipped even now and also the purāṇic idea that river *Lauhitya* passes nearby this holy centre. It is clear that *Lauhitya* is nothing but another name for the river *Brahmaputra*.[33] According to the *Kālikā-*

purāṇa (67.41–42) it is a great *tīrtha* and is conceived as divine; The river *Brahmaputra* in ancient literature and epigraphic records is mentioned as *Lauhitya* and is associated with the region of *Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa.* From this, it appears *Brahmaputra* is a modern name, perhaps used from the days of the *Kālikāpurāṇa* where it finds mention as an alternative name for *Lauhitya.* Once this river passed through the hills the *Gandhamādana* and the *Maṇikūṭa* which was located on the eastern bank of *Lauhitya.* According to the *Kāmarūpa burañji*, the *Brahmaputra* took north-west course from a place west of the modern Saraighat bridge and east of Sualkuchi, and flowed passing via modern Hajo; then turning west it reached Baratiaghat, where it received the *Mānasa* river and then had a south-western bend via the modern *Mānasa* river. At that time Sualkuchi was to the south of the river. It is only at the time of *Nara-Nārāyaṇa* that the river was flowing via south of Sualkutci up to the present mouth of the *Mānasa* river which is still called Baralia. The *dead bed* of the river, now silted up, is still called *Brahmaputra*; and during the summer the flood waters passing through it and the lands under water give it the appearence of a large river.[34]

It is not out of place to locate one of the demons, who bears the name of *Hayagrīva* connected with the region of *Kāmarūpa* In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* it is not clearly stated who this demon *Hayagrīva* was? In the *Naraka* legend, *Hayagrīva*, as in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 83) and the *Harivaṁśa* (II. 63), is an *asura* leader and a great general of *Naraka's* army. *Naraka*, with the help of this demon *Hayagrīva* defeated the gods thrice and was able to snatch away the *kuṇḍalas* of *Aditi*, the mother of the Gods (KP. 41. 12–15); cf., also KP. 41. 53 ff). Further this *purāṇa* (41. 7 and 41. 86) says that the demon *Hayagrīva* was the keeper of the northern door of the fortified city of *Naraka* and was killed by *Kṛṣṇa.* It is possible that the destruction of the demon *Hayagriva* might have been caused in the same *prāgjyotiṣa* region by *Kṛṣṇa.* by whom the demon king *Naraka* was also slain. The name of *Hayagrīva* associated with *Mādhava*, who is worshipped on the *Maṇikūṭa* hill, brings us nearer to the story of the incarnation of *Kṛṣṇa.* However, all these factors prompt us to think that the Assam region is one of the important centres of *Hayagrīva* worship for a few centuries.

We have already referred to the holy place *Dharmāraṇya* and its association with *Viṣṇu-Hayagriva*, mentioned in the *Skāndapurāṇa*. This *purāṇa* informs us that *Hayagriva* was worshipped by *Vaḍavā* brahmins in the *Dharmāraṇya* along with other deities. The *Dharmāraṇya* is located near the river *Sabarmatī* or ancient *Svabhramati* in the Gujarat state. The *Dharmāraṇya*, where the horse-headed *Viṣṇu* performed austerities, is also identified as a place in Sitapur destrict in Uttar Pradesh. This was the place, where *Viṣṇu* was relieved of his horse-head, and where he regained his original head. According to the *purāṇa*, the same place became a great *tirtha* because of this event. Although some scholars[35] view that the story seems to be a later concoction by the modha brahmins to add to the importance of the place of the *Dharmāraṇyakṣetra*, it shows a fact how the people of this particular region were influenced by this deity Probably this story might be a base for serving their interest. However, it offers us the information regarding the extent of *Hayagrīva* cult in a particular region, according to the purānic geography.

The mention of the incarnation of *Hayagriva* in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, which has orginated in Kashmir, points to the recognition of the *Hayagrīva*-incarnation in Kashmir. A holy place called *Hayaśirṣa* is mentioned in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa* (vv. 83-95) as one of the sixty eight *tirthas* visited by the seer *Kāśyapa*, during his pilgrimage. *Kāśyapa*, according to this *purāṇa*, (vv. 96b, 101) reaches *Kanakhala* during the course of his journey and is advised by *Nīla* to proceed northward to see the holy places of *Madra* and *Himavān*, as he has already visited the places in the East, West and South. The list referred to in the above mentioned statement of *Nīla* and the places mentioned therein are mostly of Northern and Central India. *Nīla's* assertion may be taken in the context of places situated to the east, west and south of *Kanakhala*.[36] The holy place *Hayaśirṣa* in the list may be the same as *Hayamukha*, identified by Cunningham[37] and others with Daundikhera, about 104 miles north-west of Allahabad This pilgrim centre may probably be associated with the incarnation of the Horse-headed one. It is possible also that a temple was built in his honour in this place, or some legend concerning with *Viṣṇu-Hayagriva* might be associated with it. The Kashmiri *Nilamatapurāṇa* not only mentions this holy place *Hayaśirṣa* but also gives a prominent position to the incarnation of *Viṣṇu* in the form of the Horse-headed one among others, which shows the extent of the cult of *Hayagriva* in that region.

5. Hayagrīva in the purāṇic–list of avatāras of Viṣṇu

The tradition of the incarnations of *Viṣṇu* was in a fluid state in ancient times and later it crystalized into the conception of ten incarnations *(daśāvatāra)*. The list of them varies from one text to the other. It is interesting to note that *Hayagrīva* was not included in the list of the ten incarnations of *Viṣṇu*, but he, as a form of *Viṣṇu*, occupies an important place in a good number of *purāṇas*.

a) *The Viṣṇupurāṇa*

In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V. 17. 11) *Viṣṇu's* horse-headed form is described as one of his incarnations. It is stated there: "He, the unborn, who has preserved the world in the various forms such as fish, tortoise, boar, horse, lion etc., will this day speak to me"[38] The commentary on this passage says that here the horse stands for *Hayagriva*.

b) *The Matsyapurāṇa*

According to the *Matsyapurāṇa* (ch. 53) the *Hayagriva-avatāra* preceded the *Matsyāvatāra*, supposedly the first of the usual list of the *avatāras*. It is said that when the world was burnt down in a great deluge, *Viṣṇu*, in the form of a horse, recompiled the four Vedas and Vedāṅgas, etc. This conception may hold good in the case of the beginning of one *kalpa* after the great deluge of a previous one.

c) *The Vāmanapurāṇa*

Hayaśirṣa, according to the *Vāmanapurāṇa*, is predominently mentioned as the third incarnation. No incarnation after *Vāmana* is mentioned in this text. The word *avatāra* is rarely used here in connection with *Viṣṇu's* incarnations, but the word *prādurbhāva* in its stead is found.[39]

d) *The Garuḍapurāṇa*

According to the *Garuḍapurāṇa* (ch. 202) different *mūrtis* of *Viṣṇu* are mentioned as follows: *Matsya*, *Trivikrama*, *Vāmana*, *Narasiṁha*, *Rāma*, *Varāha*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Kapila*, *Datta*, *Hayagrīva*, *Makaradhvaja*, *Nārada*, *Kūrma*, *Dhanvantari*, *Śeṣa*, *Yajña*, *Vyāsa*, *Buddha* and *Kalkin*, the last two being in the protection of people from the *pāṣaṇḍas* and also from the sins of the *Kali* age. This long list may not be intended to indicate a fixed list of *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*, but it seems that their intention is to mention different images representing different forms of *Viṣṇu*.

e) *The Bhāgavatapurāṇa*

In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (II. 7. 11) we have the following passage: "In my *(Brahmā)* sacrifice *(satra)* the noble horse-headed one was the sacrificial male *(yajñapuruṣa)* of a golden complexion, full of incantations and sacrifices, whose soul was the gods and from whose nostril sweet words were created when he breathes and he recovered the trace of the Vedas that have fallen out from my mouth in the terrible waters." While commenting on this passage, the commentator on the *Bhāgavata*, Śrīdhara remarks that *Hayaśiras*, the horse-headed one, must be understood as *Viṣṇu's* descent as *Hayagrīva-avatāra*. This and other references in this *purāṇa* (VII. 9. 37, XI. 4. 17 & V. 18. 1-6) show consistently that the process of evolution of the conception of *Hayagrīva* as *Viṣṇu's* incarnation is fully developed and well established. The story of *Hayagrīva* became an important one in the Hindu mythology and also in the methods of Hindu worship at the time of Śrīdhara (Śrīdharasvāmin). This commentator of the 14th century A.D. in his commentary on the first verse of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* says categorically that the inclusion of the story of *Hayagrīva* is a necessary feature of a true *Bhāgavata*. Substantiating this conception he quotes a verse from a *purāṇa* the name of which he has not mentioned.[4]

6. Purānic personalities benifitted by the worship of Hayagrīva

a) *Gālava in the Mahābhārata.*

There are certain stories in the *Mahābhārata* (V. 118 ff) and other texts where we find legends relating to the glory of

Hayagriva and how this deity benifited a few purāṇic personalities one way or another.

It has been assured that whosoever hears or memorizes the legend of *Hayagrīva*, his studies and intellectual efforts never become fruitless. For example, a Brāhmin seer, found in the *Mahābhārata* named Gālava, an inhabitant of the *Pāñcāla* country,[41] on being instigated by *Śiva* worshipped *Hayagrīva* and thereby mastered the *krama* style of reciting the Vedas. Gālava is mentioned in another context and there it is said that this Brāhmin seer has become the first master of the *krama* style and was also responsible for the discovery of *sikṣā* a *vedāṅga*, which is supposed to be the science that deals with the proper pronunciation of words and principles of euphony.

B) *Agastya in the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

The deity *Hayagriva* appears in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* where we do not find any references to legends describing his origin and victorious achievements, but in it he appears as the revealer of the secret glory of the Goddess *Lalitā*, with her *mantra*, *nyāsa*, *homa*, *pūja*, *puraścaraṇa* and also *sahasranāma* of the Devī to the sage Agastya. He exhibits himself before Agastya with four arms (Ch. V.V. 9).[42] Two important factors are prominent in the dialogue between *Hayagriya* and Agastya in the fifth chapter of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. Firstly, *Hayagrīva's* function here is to voice the glory of the mother-goddess in the form of *Lalitā*. This is somewhat similar to the legend in the *Devī Bhāgavata*, where *Devī* in the form of *Tāmasīśakti* plays an important role. There it is said that *Hayagrīva* received the secret of wisdom from *Devī*. This occurence exalts the level of Devī over the status of *Hayagrīva*, a typical feature peculiar to the Purāṇās of sectarian nature. Secondly, Agastya, who is supposed to be the knower of the essence of all branches of learning and a great Brahman-realiser and who is also said to be the cause of the initial Aryanisation-process of South India, is described as one of the persons benifited by the appearance of *Havagrīva* before him.

In the beginning of the dialogue, Agastya addresses *Hayagrīva* with epithets like '*aśvānana*' '*mahābuddhe*' '*sarvaśāstraviśā-*

rada' (O! horse-headed one, O! God of great intellect, O! Lord! the proficient in all branches of knowledge). These addresses remind us of *Hayagrīva's* association with learning and wisdom, a point which might have inspired the composer of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* to mouth through *Hayagrīva* the glory of the goddess Lalitā. Agastya demands that he should be initiated into the secret of the *Lalitāsahsranāma* as also into the knowledge regarding the origin of the goddess Lalitā, her coronation the destruction of *Bhaṇḍāsura*, the greatness of *Śrīcakra* and the fifteen lettered *mantra*, *nyāsa*, *homa*, *pūja*, *puraścaraṇa*, etc. already taught him by Hayagrīva regretted that he was provided previously with the *sāhasranāmas* of the goddesses *Mantriṇī* and *Daṇḍinī* but not with the *sahasranāma* of Lalitā. He further said "O compassionate one! *Hayagrīva*! Now a doubt occurs to me in this regard as to whether you have forgotten about it or became silent knowingly? Do you think that I do not deserve to listen to these thousand names? What is the reason for your silence? Could you enlighten me by telling the cause of it?" *Hayagrīva* responded to Agastya by saying that he did not initiate him into this knowledge because it was considered to be a great secret. He assured Agastya that he would definetly initiate him into this secret wisdom because he finds him fit. It is said that a preceptor should not initiate matters of great secret even to his disciple according to tradition. Moreover it should be introduced only to an *upāsaka* and one of utmost purity. He also narrated a story regarding the origin of the *Lalitāsahsranāma*. Once, the goddess Lalitā out of compassion to do good for her worshippers, summoned *Vāgdevī* and *Vaśinī* and others and said "Look! Listen to my words. By my grace you are shining with the great power of speech and you are also entrusted with the duty of giving that power to my worshippers. You know the secret of my *Śrīcakra* and you are interested in the thousand names of mine, so I order you to prepare a *stotra* of thousand names dedicated to me, which serves the important purpose of pleasing my worshippers." Having listened to this command *Vāgdevī*, *Vaśinī* and others composed a *stotra* incorporating the secret names of *Devī*. This benediction with various names became well-known as '*rahasyanāmasahasra*'. This was recited when once the goddess was seated on a throne of lion. All the gods with their consorts as well as all forms of Śaktis such as *Mantriṇī*, *Daṇḍini*, etc. attended the court of the goddess *Lalitā*. Divine beings, the humans and *siddhas* were all present. In the presence of this audience, *Vāgdevī*, *Vasini* and others stood and praised the goddess Lalitā with the thousand names composed by them. *Devī*, pleased with their performance, addressed the gathering by instructing them that those who devoted to her should always be listened to the *Sahasranāma* and should propagate it always among the worshippers. The story was retold by *Hayagrīva* to the sage Agastya for the purpose of bringing a great spitirual fervour as well as religious significance to it. This dialogue is constituent part of the *Uttara*-Khaṇḍa of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, known as *Lalitāsahasranāmapūrvabhāga*.[43]

Chapter II : REFERENCES

1 DB. I. 5. 74 and 107.
2. ibid. I. 5. 75-85.
3. ibid. I. 5. 86-103.
4. ibid. I. 5. 104-111.
5. ibid. I. 5. 112.
6. SP. III. 14. 1-7.
7. ibid. III. 14. 50; Cf. DB. I. 5. 20.
8. ibid. III. 14. 50-60.
9. ibid. III. 15. 1-28.
10. ibid. III. 15. 32-42.
11. MBh. V. 99. 5 (Bombay Edition).
12. Cf. F. Washburn Hopkins, Epic Mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 180.
13. SivP. (Vol. II), Varanasi 1970, p. 549.
14. MBh. XII. 335. 1-69.
15. DB. X. 11. 5 ff.
16. MBh. XII. 335. 22.
17. Bh. P. VIII. 24. 8 & 9.
18. MBh. XII. 335. 44-49.

19. The *Harivaṁśa purāṇa.*

20. ibid. 91–19.

21. VP. V. 15 (transl) H.H. Wilson, London 1840, p. 537 ff.

22. KP. Ch. 81-83; see also in the chapters on Vaiṣṇavism in 'The Kālikā Purāṇa — A socio-cultural study', Thesis by Dharmendra Chutia, Gauhati 1970.

23. MBh. V. 97–5.

24. ibid. XII. 326. 56.

25. ibid. XII. 126. 3.

26. Cf. V.P. Joshi, Hayagrī.a in Brahminical iconography in: JISOA, Calcutta Vol. III, 1972–73.

27. We find another place called '*Aśvvtīrtha*' on the *Aśvakrānta* mountain in *Kāmākhya* near Assam (Yoginītantra, Uttarakhaṇḍa, Ch. 3), s v., "*aśvatīrtha*" in the "Geographical Encyclopaedia of ancient and Medieval India, pt. I, Indic Academy, Varanasi 1967; A mention of a holy place called '*aśvaśirasthāna*' in the Mahābhārata (VI. 80. 32) may be connected with the horse-headed one. *Aśvaśirasthāna* is a sacred place in ancient India. Arjuna dreams of going to '*Śiva* with *Kṛṣṇa*' and in that dream they visit this place also (MBh. VII. 57–28). According to the *Kūrmapurāṇa*, there is a sacred place named '*aśvarathatīrtha*', where Lord *Nārāyaṇa* resides in the form of *Hayaśiras*. The identification of this place is uncertain.

28. Cf., V.P. Joshi – in: JISOA, Vol. III. p. 40.

29. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, p. 215; s.v., '*Bhadrāśva*': D C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieaval India, Delhi 1971, pp. 17 ff. and The geographical encyclopeadia of ancient and medieval India, pt. I. Varanasi 1967. pp. 54 ff.

30. ibid.

31. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of *Varāhamihira* Vii. i. 11–17; A.B.L. Avasthi, Studies in the *Skāndapurāṇa*, pt. I, Lucknow, 1976.

32. Cf., Discussions on 'Brahmaputra' in "The Kālikāpurāṇa – A Socio-Cultural – study" (Thesis) Gauhati, 1970.

33. Cf., Mandasor Stone piller inscription of Yośodharmadeva (c. 525 to 535 A.D.) I. 5; see R V. Pandey, Historical and Literary inscriptions, p. 137 and Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityaśena (c. 672 A.D.) V. 14; ibid., p. 151.

34. Cf. "The *Kālikapurāṇa*, A socio-cultural study" (Thesis) Gauhati 1970, p. 704 ff.

35. Cf. J.C. Ghosh, Hayagrīva Worship in Assam, in JARS.

36. Cf. Vedakumari, *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, p. 42,

37. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 443; N.L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 75.

38. "Matsyakūrmavarāhāśvasimharūpādibhiḥ".

39. Cf. R.C. Hazra, Studies in the Puranic records on Hindu rites and customs, p. 78.

40. "Grantho' ṣṭādaśa sahasro dvādaśaskanda sammataḥ /
hayagrīva brahmavidyā yatra vṛtravadhas tathā //
gāyatryā ca samārambhas tad vai bhagavatam viduḥ //

41. Identified as the modern region of the districts of Merut and Farukkabad U.P. See Joshi's above mentioned article.

42. See Ch. IV in this book for iconographical details.

43. The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Venkatesh Press, Bombay; Sri Lalitāsahasranāmabhāṣyam, (ed & transl) P. Sūryanarayana Sarma, Madras 1970.

CHAPTER III

Hayagrīva–Viṣṇu in Āgamas and Tantras

When the horse-headed deity has taken root and settled in the purāṇic literature, it has become part of the business of the Āgamas and the Tantras to provide instructions for preparing an image of this deity and also to furnish various methods of worshipping it. The central theme in the Āgamas is the worship of a god in the form of an image. In course of centuries, the Āgamic religion has branched off into three schools viz., *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śaiva* and *Śakta,* giving prominence to *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* and *Śakti* respectively. *Hayagrīva* as a form of *Viṣṇu* finds a fitting place in the *Vaiṣṇava* Āgamas, which are subdivided into *Vaikhānasa* and *Pañcarātra*. In the history of *Vaiṣṇavism* both the *Vaikhānasa* and *Pāñcarātra* schools occupy a unique and prominent place because their literature contains pure theology associated with the philosophy of qualified non-dualism (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*). These schools attach importance to the image of the Lord as being fit for adoration (*arcāvatāra*) and teach the ritualistic practices together with the underlying metaphysical and mystical conceptions. It is not the mere image that only deserves worship. The Tantric elements in the *Āgamas* offer us information regarding the mystical syllables attributable to the deities in the form of *mantras,* the magical diagrams in the form of *yantras,* and the holy stones in the form of *sālagrāmas*, etc. Once a form of a particular deity is fixed in the tradition, formalisation of methods of worship become necessary. The essential feature of both the Āgama as well as the Tantra texts is to provide such an information to the worshipper.

1. *Hayātmaka in the Vaikhānasāgama*

In the *Vaikhānasa* literature, we find references to the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* in Marīci's *Vimānārcanakalpa* (ch. 20) and Kāśyapa's *Jñānakāṇḍa* (ch. 37). Marīci mentions *Hayātmaka* (i.e. horse-faced Viṣṇu), when he deals with the *āvaraṇadevatas* in the place of *kāutuka* image. There, *Hayātmaka* is described as a deity in white complexion appearing in yellow clothes, accompanied by his consorts *Nīlā* and *Viśvā*. He is praised with the utterance : '*hayātmakaṁ deveśāṁ sarvānandam sanātanaṁ*'.

Kāśyapa's *Jñānakāṇḍa* also refers to the horse-faced Viṣṇu with the epithet *Hayātmaka*. In the chapter regarding the regular worship (*nityārcana*), we find a mention of different forms of Viṣṇu to whom flowers are to be offered. The following is a passage to the point:" In the ceremonial worship he (worshipper) should deposit (a flower) in each of the four directions beginning with East, (and moving) clock-wise for *Subhadra*, *Hayātmaka*, *Vāmadeva* and *Puṇyadeva*."

In the *Vaikhānasa* school, the *Pāramātmikopaniṣad*,[2] on which the famous commentator Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita wrote his *Bhāṣya*, is of special importance. In this work, the passage "*sārasvato Vā eṣa devo yam na vā hayaḥ Pāramātmikaḥ bhayo' bhayo vā sarvaṁ sandhuṣe avāhā*" occurs. Here Viṣṇu in the form of *Hayagrīva* is referred to. Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, commenting on this passage, says that Viṣṇu is worshipped as Hayagrīva. This *Hāyagriva* cannot be an ordinary horse and yet be the basis of all branches of wisdom. The word *śārasvata* is equated with the Supreme Divine Being in the form of Ocean. This reminds us of passage in Sāyaṇa's commentary, already referred to.[3]

2. a) *Hayagrīva in the Scheme of Vyūha and Vibhava*

The central theme of the Pāñcarātra religion is that the Supreme God manifests himself in five-fold forms, viz., *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcā*. The spirit of this classification of the manifestations of the deity is to attempt to bring the supreme transcendent God-head into 'living and loving touch with the mundane world'. The *para* is the first form of the god-head, and is also referred to as 'the best of puruṣas' and 'the highest light, seen in meditation'.[5] It is described that *Vyūha-Vāsudeva* is said to have sprung from *Para-vāsudeva*.[6] The appearance of qualities (*guṇa*) in Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa (Vāsudeva) denotes the beginning of the process of *vyūha* [7] In the *vyūha* system Vāsudeva, characterised by the six guṇas,[8] is the first *vyūha*. From the Vyūha of Vāsudeva, emanates *Sāṁkarṣāṇa* in whom wisdom (*jñāna*) and strength (*bala*) alone get manifested. From *Saṁkarṣaṇa* comes *Pradyumna*, whose qualities are wealth (*aiśvarya*) and potency (*virya*). From *Pradyumna* emerges Aniruddha to whom belong power (*śakti*) and light or brilliance (*tejas*).

From the point of view of the *Lākṣmītantra*[9] (II. 27–35), all these *vyūha* forms are said to proceed from *Lakṣmī*, whereas the *Vihagendra Saṁhitā*[10] maintains that they emanate from Vāsudeva himself. Vibhava is the next manifestation, which is otherwise known as *avatāra*. According to the *Pāñcarātra* system, the relation between *Vyūha* and *Vibhava* is different from the purāṇic conception of *avatāra*. The only Supreme Being the *Pāñcarātrins* visualise is the trascendent one and he is not in any way directly related to the world. Therefore, the *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā* texts explicitly describe the incarnations as either all springing from *Aniruddha*[11] or some from *Vāsudeva* and the rest from the other *vyūhas*.[12] We should note here that the supreme being does not incarnate himself by descending to the mundane world as it is conceived in the purāṇas. The *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitā* texts do not maintain that the Supreme being, laying aside its transcendent and unmoving nature, assumes directly those incarnations in finite forms. So, in contrast to the purāṇic conception, the *Pāñcarātra* system allows only the *vibhavas* (*avatāra*) to emerge from *vyūhas*.

The incarnation of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* can also be fitted into the *Pāñcarātra vyūha* mould. A few *Pāñcarātra* texts refer to *Hayagrīva* as an emanation from *Saṁkarṣaṇa-vyūha* whereas the *Mahābhārata* describes Aniruddha as the source of the horse-headed one.

According to the *Viśvāmitra Saṁhitā*, *Hayagrīva* emanates from *Sāṁkarṣaṇa* (*Saṁkarṣaṇāt hayagrīvaḥ*). According to this text, *Viśvāmitra* was asked by the sage Kāśyapa about *Saṁkarṣaṇa* who was born in different forms.[13]

We find support for this view even in the text called the *Śrīviṣṇutilaka*, where it is stated :

puruṣādyaśca catvāro jātas saṁkarṣaṇādapi|
saṁkarṣāṇād hayagrīva jātājñānamayo hariḥ|| (ch.II, P 13).

Here it is said that *Hayagrīva* as *Hari* (*Viṣṇu*) full of knowledge has emanated from *Śaaṁkarṣaṇa*. The quality of the *jñāna* (knowledge) of *Saṁkarśaṇa* is well represented in this context in the *vibava* manifestation of *Hayagrīva*.

A similar idea that *Hayagrīva*, as a form of Viṣṇu, emerged from *Saṁkarṣaṇa*, is also found in the *Pādma Saṁhitā* (II 35^{a}). We read the following lines in the *Jñānapāda* of this text:

saṁkarṣaṇa hayagrīvo śaṅkhodara nṛkeśarī

In the *Mahābhārata*, *Viṣṇu* in the form of *Hayaśiras*, who brought back the Vedas stolen by *Madhu* and *Khaitabha*, is described as the *Aniruddhamūrti*, a *vyūha* form Viṣṇu, with a change only in the head part of the deity.[14] When *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* saw *Viṣṇu* in *Yoganīdrā*, they attempted to attack him. In this context the author of the *Mahābhārata* refers to *Viṣṇu* by the epithet '*Aniruddha*' instead of by the term *Hayagrīva*.[15] On the basis of this reference, P. Gangadhar in his article "Iconography of *Hayagrīva*, a new light"[16] says that *Hayagrīva* is an emanated form of the *vyūha* known as *Aniruddha*. Further he follows a line of argument which places the incarnation of *Hayagrīva* at the very beginning of Brahma's creation. However, he thinks that the ten incarnations recur in every *kalpa*. As many kalpas form a Brahma's life-time, he considers the *Hayagrīva* incarnation of Viṣṇu to be a form which appeared prior to the occurance of the ten incarnations. Generally it is believed that the fish incarnation as the first and the foremost in the usual list of incarnations. However, the *Mahābhārata* conception of linking *vyūha* and *vibhava* in the case of *Hayagrīva* is quite different from that of the *Pāñcarātra Saṁhitas*.

b) *Hayagrīva* in the celestial and terrestrial regions

i) The special celestial region named after Hayagrīva.

In the Indian tradition we have many celestial regions called *lokas*. Among them there are upper and lower lokas. *Bhū Bhuvar, Svar. Mahar, Jana. Tapo and Satya are the* ūrdhvalokas and *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Talātala*, *Mahātala*, *Rasātala* and *Pātāla* are the adholokas. Apart from this tradition we have also celestial regions named after the purāṇic characters and deities. For example, Dhruva,[17] a person who appears in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata*, was given a special celestial region, It is higher than all the planets and is generally called *Dhruvatārā*. The *Hayagrīvaloka* is comparable in conception and content to *Goloka*,[18] the abode of Srī Kṛṣṇa.

We have a reference to the *Hayagrīvaloka* in the *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā*.[19] The world of *Hayāgrīva* is located in the North, reminding us of the fact that the northern direction is allocated to *Hayagrīva* as *Vimānadevatā* or *āsanadevatā*.[20] The following are further details of the *Hayagrīvaloka*, a detailed descriptive account of which is in this *Saṁhttā*. The width of the *loka* is hundred yojanas and is equal to its length. It shines all over with well-arranged ramparts (*prākāra*) studded with pearls. It has four golden towers. This *Hayagrīva-loka* forming a nucleus in the centre is surrounded by further celestial regions of the same shape in eight directions with ten regions above and ten below. Thus all together there are one hundred red celestial regions centered around the *Hayagrīvaloka*. There is a big pleasure-mountain called '*Lokāloka*' and on it flows the river named '*Prasravaṇī*'. The mountain is full of Peepal trees (*aśvattha*). The area on the out-skirts of this loka is called '*Tuṇgagandhi*'. It is even and auspicious. On the mountain there are four splendid towers made of iron (*Kṛṣṇaloha*) the door-keepers are *Trinetra* in the South, *Bhīṣaṇa* and *Rocana* in the West, and *Pramoha* and *Viśvaka* in the North. The names of these towers are the following : *Niyoni*, *Nivaya*, *Sulaya* and *Pralaya*. The arched doorways of the respective directions are called *Sandhāna*, *Pradhāna*, *Sudhāna*, and *Dhāna*. Away from the Southern tower there is located a celestial region called *Somaloka* which runs into a hundred yojanas and is a hundred yojanas away from *Hayagrīvaloka*.

ii) *Hayagrīva worship in rhe Terrestrial regions :*

We have already examined how different forms of Viṣṇu are worshipped in different terrestial regions, according to the purāṇic geography. *Bhadrāśva* is the abode where *Hayagrīva* is worshipped. Mention of *Bhadrāśva* is also made in the *Pāñcarātra* texts. The *Nāradīya Saṁhitā* says that *Hari* is worshipped as *Hayaśirṣa* and Hayayogī in *Bhadrāśva*.[21] It is interesting to note that the epithet '*Hayayogi*' is used here for *Hayagrīva*.

c) The significance of Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra

The title of the *Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra* text demonstrates the popularity of the cult of the horse-faced form of Viṣṇu and the special status it enjoyed in the *Pāñcarātra* school. In the twenty five *Pāñcarātra* works enumerated in the text, the *Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra* stands as the foremost.[22]

The origin of the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* as the reviver of the Vedas is told in a dialogue between *Brahmā* and *Śiva* and was retold by *Bhṛugu* to *Mārkaṇḍeya*. The legend of *Hayagriva*, narrated here is in tune with that of the *Mahābhārata*. From the evidences of the names of the provinces forbidden in religious consecration ceremonies viz. *Kacca*, *Kāveri*, *Koṅkaṇa*, *Kāmarupa*, *Kaliṅga*, *Kāñcī*, *Kāsmīra*, *Kosala* and *Maharāṣṭra*. We can conjecture that this work was composed somewhere in the Northern part of India. This is corroborated by the fact that *Hayaśirṣa Pāñcarātra* is available in the *Kāsmīra* and *Nāgari* (Northern Indian) scripts only. These scripts only are recommended for transcriptions of this sacred text (1, 3, 3-4).

The status of the *Pāñcarātra* system is also raised by the narration of the origin of *Hayagrīva*-avatara. When the stolen Vedas were brought back by *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva*, the story goes that *Brahmā* requested him to narrate the doctrine of the *Pāñcarātrāgama*. which were taught by Viṣṇu himself in ancient times. Thus the genesis of the scripture (*śāstrāvatara*) finds its proper place in the first chapter of this work.

d) Hayagrīva as primary and auxiliary deity

i) Hayagrīva image as a primary deity

According to the *Pāñcarātra* texts, *Hayagrīva* as a primary deity exhibits the chief feature of bestowing wisdom to the worshippers. The legend of *Hayagrīva's* retrieval of the Vedas is the main source of inspiration for the image of *Hayagrīva*. This fact is well-demonstrated in the prescription that a book or a manuscript ought to be placed in one of its hands. The description of the *Hayāgrīva* image is found in the *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā*, the *Śeṣa Saṁhitā*, the *Pādmā Saṁhitā*, *Hayaśirṣa Saṁhitā*, the *Parāśara Saṁhitā*, the *Īṣvara Saṁhitā* etc. We shall deal the iconographical details of the image of *Hayagrīva* in the chapter on Iconography.

ii) Hayagrīva as an auxiliary deity

We have also references of secondary importance relating to *Hayagrīva* figures. Sometimes we find images of *Hayagrīva* as a door keeper (*dvārāpālaka*), as a figure to be put on a temple tower vimāna (*Vīmāndevātā*), accompanying deity (***Parivāra** devatā*) and so on.

In the *Viṣvakṣena Saṁhitā*, in the context of allotment of seats for gods during the procedure of performing *Pūja*, the northern direction is allotted to *Hayagrīva.*[23] This allotment of the northern direction to *Hayagrīva* sounds similar to the prescription of direction to the same deity among *Vimānadevatas*. In the *Nāradīya Saṁhitā* also we find that the Northern direction is allotted to the deity *Hayaśirṣa* (*Hayagrīva*) as one of the vimānadevatas, whereas the eastern direction is allotted to *Śrīdhara.* Such an allotment, according to the *Nāradīya Saṁhitā*, is prescribed only for the second level (*tala*) of the *Vimāna.*[24]

The *Viśvāmitra Saṁhitā*[25] (XXI, vv. 68–69) prescribes that on the first level (*tala*) of the construction (*prāsāda*) *Varāha*, *Narasiṁha*, *Śrīdhara* and *Hayavaktra* should be placed in the four directions and *Garuḍa* or similar figures should be kept in the four corners.

Usually, the vimānadevatas are also known as the deities in-charge of the different directions (*diṅmūrtis*). Eevn in the *Kapiñjala Saṁhitā Hayaśirṣa* is one of the *diṅmūrti* images placed in the Northern direction.[26] In another *Saṁhitā* it is stated that the deity in the *sanctum* sanctorum should be placed in the East, *Varāha* in the South, *Narasiṁha* in the West and *Hayaśirṣa* in the north as diṅmūrtis.[27]

Even in the process of worship the peculiar feature is that the seat of *Hayagrīva* is allotted only in the North according to the *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā.*[28]

We come across *Hayagrīva* as *dvārapālaka* in the temple of *Vaiṣṇavi saptamātṛkās*. The list of *saptamātṛkās* vary from text to text. According to the *Nāradīya Saṁhitā Vāgīśvari Kriyā*, *Kirti*, *Lakṣmi Śṛṣṭi*, *Vidyā* and *Kānti* are seven *mātṛikā* goddesses facing the Southern direction. It is said that Srīdhara and Hayavaktra are the doorkeepers (*dvārapālaka*) in the temple of these *mātṛkas*.[29]

According to the *Pādma Saṁhitā*[30] in course of a discussion regarding accompanying deities (*parivāra* devatā), we find a mention of *Hayagrīva* together with *Sūrya*, Candra and others to be located in the second court-yard (*āvaraṇa*).

The *Jayākhya Ṣaṁhitā* gives us an interesting piece of information typical to the tantric ideology. In Tantrism we have a few male deities with their female counter-parts. reminding us of the *Śakta* and *Śakti* doctrine of the Tantras. In the same fashion, the horse-headed deity has his female counter-part with the name of *Vāgīśvari*. The *dhyaānu Śloka* of this goddess describes her features. She carries a white conch-shell and a lotus comparable to the jasmine flower and the moon (*kunda* and *Indu*) of pure white colour. Further she carries a book in one of her hands and exhibits the boon-bestowing gesture (*Varada*) with another hand. She is considered to be the power (*Śakti*) of the Lord. Her essence is sound, i.e. Vedas (*Vibhoh śabdātmikā śaktiḥ*).

e) *The Pāñcarātra* texts as sources of *Yantra*, *Mantra Mudrā*, *Salagrāma* etc. *of Hayagrīva*

Basides images, mystical diagrams are also used in the process of worship. For such mystical diagrams, we find texts like *Vṛddhapāñcarātra* and others as the source.

The various *pāñaarātra* texts provide us also with the information regarding the mystical syllables (mantra) of *Hayagrīva*. In such a list we may include the *Viṣṇutilaka*, the *Pādma Saṁhitā*, the *Kapiñjala Saṁhitā* and other texts. The hand-gesture with the name of *Hayagrīva* (*Hayāgrīva-mudrā*) is also described by the *Pāñcarātra* work, the *Sanātkumāra Saṁhitā*.

Hayugriva śālagrāmas are also described in different texts of *pañcarātra*. All these topics will be discussed in detail in the chapter devoted to the objects and methods of *Hayagriva* worship.

III. *Hayagrīva Reference in the Tantras*

We can derive materials regarding *mantra*, *yantra* and various forms of worship regarding *Hayagrīva* from the Tāntric texts such as the *Lakṣmitantra* the *Sāradātilakatantra*, the *Merutantra* and the *Yoginītantra*.

a) The Lakṣmitantra

First, we refer to the *Lakṣmitantra*,[31] a *Pāñcarātra* text with all tāntric paraphernalia, giving prominence to the mother goddess LakṣmI with her various forms. In this text, several images and the process of the mental sacrifices are described. Various abstract ideas are mystified and conceived in terms of spiritual symbolism as well as in human and semi-human divine forms *Dharma*, *Jñāna*, *Vairāgya* and *Aiśvarya* have human forms with fair complexion, a lion's face and very energetic and *Adharma*, *Ajñāna*, *Avairāgya* and *Anaiśvarya* are also endowed with human forms and are supposed to be red in colour. In the same context the four well-known vedas are referred to as possessing the combined form of horse and man. This reference evidently is to the deity *Hayagriva*, the bestower of learning and restorer of four vedas from the demons.

b) The Sāradātilakatantra

The *Śaradātilakatantra*[32] describes the horse-faced god, as pure white in colour like the night of the *Sārat* season and like a conch-shell decorated with ornaments and studded with pearls. He is described as seated keeping his two hands on knees and holding with the other two upper hands a disc and a conch-shell. This description seems to be closer to the mediiative posture of the deity, suiting the purpose of the process of worship described in the text: where we also come across some details regarding the *mantra*, *mudrā*, *japa*, *homa*., etc. of the horse-headed deity.

c) *The Merutantra*

The *Merutantra*[33] also provides us with the information regarding *mantra*, *puraścaraṇa*, *yantra* etc- of *Hayagrīva*. In it he is described, as usual, as in image with a calm appearance, camphor like white in colour, decorated with various ornaments. carrying a rosary, a book and a lotus etc. in his hands. The text deals with the different forms of mantras with varied numbers of letters in their compositions i.e. *ekākṣarī*, *aṣṭākṣarī* *anuṣṭap*, *gāyatrī*.

d) *The Yoginītantra*

In the *Yoginītantra*[34] one finds many detailed descriptions of the magical powers of *Viṣṇu Hayagrīva*. The ninth chapter of the text is mainly devoted to the history and the workship of the figure of *Viṣṇu Hayagrīva* which is even now worshipped by the name of *Hayagrīva-Mādhava*, in the temple on *Maṇikūṭo* Hill, near the village of Hajo in Assam state. This text is composed in the form of a dialogue between *Siva* and *Pārvatī*. The method of worship of this deity seems to be similar to the left wing tradition (*vāmācāra*) of the Śakti-cult. It is said that in the *kāmarūpa* (Assam) region one should not give up eating meat and one should not maintain celebacy as a vow. It is also mentioned that contact with men is natural for women-folk. If one quite eating the meat of a swan, a pigeon, a tortoise or a wild boar, it would bring great misery to him. The worship of *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* at Hajo in Assam was significantly influenced by the *Vāmācāra* tantric tradition, typical to the Assam region (*Kāmarūpa*) as mentioned in the *yoginītantra*. For example, meat of different animals along with vegetables and fruits were offcred to the deity. Such a textgal evidence it very important in providing information regarding *Vāmācāra Śākteya* type of worship of the deity prevalent once but now no longer in vogue. The field study and analysis of the practices of the present day temple tell us that the practices are more recently infiuenced by *Vaiṣṇava* movements, particularly of *Saṅkaradeva* and others. The *Vaiṣṇava* element of the present-day worship of the deity forbids all non-vegetarian offerings typical to the tantric tradition.

e) *The Śāktadarśana*

A work called *Śāktadarśana*, supposed to be written by an author called *Hayagrīva*, associates the *Śakti*-cult with the concept of *Hayagrīva*. This work is also known as the *Hayagrīva-brahmavidyā*. In the text the phrase '*iti Hayagrīvaḥ*' appears often as the final word, in the context of the discussion of different philosophical schools. The author appears to be a legendary person. He is traditionally believed to be the author of a system of philosophy known as 'the *Śākta-darśana*', the doctrines of which are very similar to those propounded by the worshippers of *Śakti*. The text is composed in the form of sūtras. So, it probably belongs to the *sūtra* period which is generally understood to be between 500 B.C. to 500 A.D. The *Paraśurāma Kalpa-sūtra* is often stated as an ancient authoritative work in the *Śākta* philosophy. In it much stress is laid upon rituals. Nothing definite can be stated regarding its author and time. Scholars in general think that we cannot be sure that the *Paraśurāma Kalpa-Sūtra* is earlier than the time of the *Śakta Darśana* of *Hayagrīva* presently under consideration. There is another work consisting of about four hundred sūtras, attributed to the sage Agastya. These are definetly of a later time than of the aphorisms of *Hayagrīva*, as there is a reference to the former in the latter. The system of philosophy propounded in *Hayagrīva's* work is a form of Monism or Advaitism associated with tantric practice. Here *Hayagrīva* may be the proper name of a person or it may be that some one wrote the text under the pseudo name of *Hayagrīva*. As in the case of *Viṣṇu Hayagrīva* playing an important role in praising the glory of *Devi* in the *Devi Bhāgavata*, the *Brhmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and a few Tantric texts such as the yogini-tantra and the *Meru Tantra*, the *Śākta Darśana* brings the *Hayagrīva* cult closer to the *Śakti*-cult.

Chapter III: REFERENCES

1. According to the *Vaikhānasāgama* texts there are five kinds of images of the deity worshipped in the temple-complex : i) dhruvabera or mūlabera, ii) *kautukabera*, iii) *utsavabera*, iv) *snapanabera* and v) *balibera*
2. The *Pāramātmikopaniṣad*, Sri Vaikhānasabhagavacchāstra granthamāla, Nalluru 1928, p. 64.

3. See Ch. I.

4. S,R. Bhatt, A Philosophy of *Pāñcarātra*, Introduction, Madras, 1968, p. 38.

5. The *Pādmatantra* I. 3. 16 ff.

6. The *Paramaprakāśa* I. 2. 3. and The *Pādmatantra*, *Pāda* I, *Adhyāya* II,

7. The *Lakṣmītantra*, III. 9; II. 27–35 and also IV. 25.

8. The six qualities of Lord Vāsudeva are the following : wisdom (*Jñāna*), strength (*bala*), wealth (*aiśvarya*), potency (*vīrya*), power (*śakti*) and brilliance (*tejas*).

9. The *Lakṣmītantra*, II, 27–35.

10. The *Vihagendra saṁhitā*, II. 15.

11. The *Lakṣmītantra* II. 55.

12. The *Pādamatantra*. 1. 2. 81 ff.

13. The *Viśvāmitra Saṁhitā*, IV. v, 26, p. 20,

14. The *Mahābhārata* (T.R. Krishnamacar's edition), ch.357; v. 64 (śvetam Candraviśuddhābham aniruddhatanausthitam)

15. Ibid.

16. A paper published in the quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol. LVIII, No. 1–4, pp 5–9.

17. Cf. Vettam Mani, Puranic Encyclopedia. pp. 5–9.

18. The *Bṛhat Brahma Saṁhitā*, 3rd section. I. 1–207 and cf. Vettam Mani, Puranic Encyclopedia p. 294.

19. The *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā*, *Indrarātram*. ch. VII. vv 57-67.

20. See the same chapter (ch. III d.1).

21. *Bahurūpadharo Viṣṇuḥ tan nivāṣibhir ijyate*
Hayaśīrṣo hayayogī bhadrāśve pūjyate hariḥ // Ch, IX. v. 122, p. 103.

22. '*Ādyam samastatantrāṇām hayaśīram Prakīrtitam*'.
(The *Hayaśīrṣa Pāñcarātra* I. 2. 2–6.)

23. *Śrīdharam paścime deśe*
uttare hayaśīrṣakam /
Āgneye bhārgavam rāmam
nairutyām rāmameva ca //
Ch. XVII. v. 37.

24. *Pratīcyām śrīdharo devo*
    hayaśīrṣastatottare |
Dvitale tu viśeṣoyam
    Kīrtyate munisattama || Ch. XIV, v. 106.

25. Undemane Sankara Bhatta (ed.), The *Viśvāmitra Saṁhitā*, K.S. Vidyapitha. Tirupati, 1970.

26. *Varāham nārasiṁham ca*
    śrīdharaṃ hayaśīrṣakam |
Pūrvādi kramayogena
    kalpayet sādhakottamaḥ || Ch. 10. vii. 76.

27. *Purve sthanādhipam devam*
    dākṣiṇe tu varāhakam ||
paścime naṛastṁham tu
    uttare hayaśīrṣakam ||

28. *Hayavaktrāsamam kuryāt*
    uttarasyām yathā vidhi |
Tataścābhimukhasthāpyas
    catvāro dīkṣitāḥ kramāt || Ch. IV, v. 24.

29. *Vāgīśvarī kriyā kirtiḥ*
    Lakṣmissṛstīstathaiva ca |
Vidyā kāntiśca saptaitā
    mātaro dakṣiṇāṇānaḥ ||
śrīdharam hayavaktram ca
    āsām vai dvārapālakau | Ch. XIV. vv.225-226 a.

30. The *Pādma Saṁhitā*, *Kriyāpāda* Ch, X. vv. 100-104.

31. The *Lakṣmītantra*, Ch. 36, vv. 16–17.

32 The *Śāradātilakatantra*, Ch. 15. vv. 69-80.

33. The *Merutantra*, ch. 28. vv. 10–52.

34. The *Yoginītantra*, ch. 9.

35. The *Śāktadarśana*, The authorship is ascribed to Hayagrīva. This work is also called *Hayagrīvabrahmavidyā*,

CHAPTER IV

Iconography

I. *Iconographical features of Hayagrīva from the textual sources*

In course of the long art-history of India, *Hayagriva* as a form of *Viṣṇu* appears in plastic representations not in abundance. Before we examine the sculptural pieces of Hayagrīva since the pre-Gupta period, we deal with the iconographical descriptive details found in different texts such as *Purāṇa*, *Āgama*, *Tantra*, *Śilpaśāstra* and other works.

(1) *The Purāṇas*

a) The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*

The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* speaks of Hayagrīva as a part of saṁkarṣaṇa who is one of the vyūha forms of Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu.[1] The traits of knowledge *(jñāna)* and strength *(bala)* predominant in *Saṁkarṣaṇavyūha* are also the natural characteristics of Hayagrīva. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* recommends that *Hayagriva* should be represented with the face of a horse and eight hands; in four of the hands he should carry conch, discus, mace and lotus and the remaining four hands should be placed upon the heads of the personified forms of the four Vedas, a feature which reminds us of the legend of the restoration of the Vedas from the demons by *Hayagriva*. His feet should be placed on the out-stretched palms of the goddess Earth.

b) The *Agnipurāṇa*, The *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

Both the *Agnipurāṇa*[2] and the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[3] mention this deity with four hands. The *Agnipurāṇa* describes the four hands of the deity holding discus, mace, conch and a manuscript, with his left leg placed on the divine serpent *(śeṣanāga)*, while the right is on the tortoise *(kūrma)*. The *Matsyapurāṇa* also supports this view. Although the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[4] accepts the description of the deity with four arms it slightly differs from the description of the deity found in the

Agni Purāṇa and the *Matsya Purāṇa*, in particular, regarding the arrangement of the objects in different hands. It mentions conch, discus, rosary and a book as the objects to be placed in the four hands.

c) The *Garuḍapurāṇa*

The *Garuḍapurāṇa*[5] describes *Hayagrīva* as white-hued like a conch-shell, jasmine flower or the moon, effulgent like silver, four-armed holding a conch-shell, a discus, a club and a lotus, decorated with a garland of forest flowers, of a beautiful mouth and cheeks, and clad in a yellow garment.

(2) *The Āgamas*

a) The *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā*

The *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā*[6] (XXIV, 356) prescribes that the *Hayagrīva* figures should be made with a horse face, whereas the rest of the parts of the body should exhibit human features.[7] Generally *Hayagrîva* is shown with two or four arms and occasionally with eight or twelve arms. Usually he carries different objects in his hands peculiar to *Viṣṇu*. Depending on the number of arms, the number and arrangement of the objects vary. In addition to the standard items carried by *Viṣṇu*, manuscript or rosary are the special items to be added to the list of objects to be held by this deity, because he is considered to be the bestower of knowledge and the recoverer of the Vedas from the demons.

b) The *Śeṣa Saṁhitā*

In the *Śeṣa Saṁhitā*,[8] *Hayagriva* is described as the deity with full of ornaments and holding five discs *(pañcacakradhara)*. This peculiar description of holding five discs is not found elsewhere.[9] The white coloured horse-faced deity *(aśvānana)*, the Lord of the Universe, according to the *Śeṣa Saṁhliā* (XXII, 22-23), is seated on a white lotus with the round face of the fullmoon functioning as a background halo, making a gesture *(mudrā)* with one hand and holding a book *(Pustaka)*, a conch shall *(śaṁkha)* and a disc *(cakra)* with the other three and spreading the fragrance of pure knowledge *(nirmalabhārati-parimala)*.

c) The *Pādma Saṁhitā*

The *Pādma Saṁhitā*[10] (Kr. XXII, 2–7) describes Him as the horse-faced one *(aśvavaktra)* whose colour is white, and who has four arms, one with the varada-gesture, the other ones holding a book of wisdom *(vijñānapustaka)*, a rosary *(akṣasūtra)* and a conch shell *(śaṁkha)*.

d) The Hayaśīrṣa Saṁhitā

In the *Hayaśīrṣa Saṁhitā*[11] (XXV, VV. 16-25), *Hayagrīva* himself says that his image should be made with four arms arranging in them a conch-shell, a disc, a ciub and the Vedas and seated on a blue-lotus together with his consort, with his left leg on the serpent king *Śeṣanāga* and the right leg on the back of a tortoise (*kūrmapṛṣṭha*).[12]

e) The Parāśara Saṁhitā

In the *Parāśara Saṁhitā*,[13] different verses give different features of *Hayagrīva* with different arrangement of objects in his hands :

1) 'I salute *Hayagrīva*, holding a disc, a lotus (in his hands), decorated with many ornaments, accompanicd by his consorts *Śrīdevī and Bhūdevī*.'[14] Here *Hayagrīva* seems to have two hands.

2) 'I salute *Hayagrīva*, wearing a crown and holding a conch-shell, a disc, a club, a lotus and a book of wisdom.[15] Here five objects only are mentioned. This number seems to be odd because usually the number of arms of a deity is in even numbers.

3) 'i worship the Lord *Hayagrīva*, holding a conch, a disc a club, a lotus, a book of wisdom, a noose (*pāśa*) and a goad (*aṅkuśa*).[16] Here too the number of objects is odd.

4) 'I worship *Hayānana*, holding a disc, a conch, a club, a lotus, a noose, a bow, a sword, and a book of wisdom.'[17] Here the arrangement of different objects in the eight hands seems to be correct. Thus we have here an eight armed horse-faced deity (*aṣṭhabāhu-Hayagrīva*).

5) 'I worship every day the well-ornamented *Hayagrīva*, who is the Lord of *Śrīdevī, Bhūdevī and Nīlādevī* decorated with a *vanamālā*-garland, holding in his arms a conch, a disc, a club. a lotus, a book of wisdom. a noose, a goad, fire, a shield studded with diamonds etc. (*vajrādikheta*) and a spear (*kunta*).[18] Here we have the description of a ten-armed *Hayagrīva*. We can presume that the *varada* or *abhaya* mudra may be a feature of the sixth or the eighth hand, although this fact is not explicitly mentioned.

f) Colour of Hayagrīva according to the Pāñcarātra texts

The *Īśvara Saṁhitā*[19] describes Lord *Vāgīśvara*, the beautiful and calm (*vara* and *saumya*) horse-faced one (*vājivaktra*) with a white complexion, and four hands holding a conch-shell, a lotus, a white rosary (sitākṣamālā) and a book.[20]

Generally the *Saṁhitas* and that *Hayagrīva's* complexion is white. In course of the Lord's discourse addressed to *Śrī* (the Goddess *Lakṣmī*) on his various forms and colours in the the *Śrīpraśna Saṁhitā*,[21] it is said that *Hayagrīva's* colour is white (*Varalakṣabha*) whereas *Ananta's* is milk-white (*kṣīravarṇa*). Garuda's is golden (*kāñcana*) and *Rudra's* is red *śoṇita*.[22]

In the *dhyānaśloka* of the *Seṣa Saṁhitā*. *Hayagrīva* is described as the deity shining with a white complexion (*śvetavarṇa*) comparable to the colours of the divine Ganges (*mandākinī*), *ambrosia* (*amṛta*), lotus (*abja*), jasmin (*kunda*), water-lilly (*kumuda*), milk (*kṣira*) and moon (*indu*). The deity is seated on white lotus (*śvetāravinda*) with a full-moon as a halo (*pūrita candramaṇḍala*).[23] It is interesting to note here that all these objects are white in colour .

In the *Pādma Saṁhitā* the colour of *Hayagrīva* is compared with that of pure Quartz which is a kind of white crystal (*sphaṭika*). He wears a white upper cloth (*dhauta vastrottarīya*) and radiates white lustre (*sitaprabhā*).[24]

In the *Īśvara Saṁhitā Hayagrīva's* white complexion is compared to the colour of the snow-covered Himālaya mountains (*tuhinācala*)[25] whereas the *Viṣṇutilaka* compares his complexion with the colour of the quartz-mountain (*sphaiikācal*)*a*.[26] Very rarely we find the description of the colour of Hayagrīva as other than white. Only the *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā* mentions his colour as red (*raktāṅga*).[27]

(3) *The Śilpaśāstra texts and other sources*

a) The Silparatna

The *Silparatna*[28] says that the seat of the deity should be made of the golden hued pipal tree. The seated figure should have a white complexion similar to that of the moon. The deity is said to hold his right hand in a preaching gesture (*vyākhyāna-mudrā*) expounding *śāstra* to his disciples.

b) The Gaturvargacintāmaṇi

The *Caturvagacintāmaṇi*[29] supports the conception of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* regarding the number of hands of the deity, and it mentions the eight handed form of the deity.

II. *Chronological sequence of the available Hayagrīva images in different regions*

It is well-known that *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva* is represented with a horse-head and also with the symbols of *Viṣṇu*. It is appropriate to discuss here about other figures in Hindu Iconography which are represented with a horse-head. The tenth incarnation of *Viṣṇu Kalkin*, yet to come, is sometimes portrayed with a horse's head on human body with two arms or four. This may be due to a false understanding of *Kalkin's* association with a horse. Kalkin is supposed to be portrayed as a handsom man, riding a horse which has two large wings. In a few *daśavatarā* representations of later origin, *Kalkin* is represented with a horse-head. In these figures the usual features of *Hayagrīva* carrying a manuscript and a rosary are not found. Among the several hybrid forms, half animal and half human, we find certain divinities such as *kinnera*, *kiṁpuruṣas*, *vidyadharas*, *gandharvas* etc. Among them one of the well-known horse-headed fiigures is that of *Tumbura*. It is always represented with two hands usually one of the hands holding a musical instrument called *vīṇa*.

a) The earliest available figure of Hayagrīva

The plastic representations of the incarnations of Viṣṇu in the pre-Gupta period is enriched by a figure of Hayagrīva, apparently hailing from Mathura (Fig. 1). This sculpture is placed in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, the museum of the Banaras Hindu University at Varanasi. Till recently it has escaped the attention of the scholars. For First time N.P. Joshi noticed it. He made a study of it and published a paper entitled "*Hayagrīva* in Brahminical Iconography".[30] This piece is an archetectural fragment showing an almost square compartment within two miniature pillars. And in this shrine-like square compartment, we find the figure of a four-handed god who sits cross-legged and carries a club (gadā) and a disc (cakra) in the upper hands, his normal right hand resting on his belly and the left holding an elongated object, the identity of which is uncertain According to N.P. Joshi, three possibilities can be entertained regarding the identification of this object, (1) it might be a water-vase as seen in some of the contemporary figures of Viṣṇu; (2) it might be a conch-shell *(śaṁkha)*, again very common with *Viṣṇu* and (3) it can be a representation of manuscript. To identify it as a manuscript is appropriate in the case of a *Hayagrīva* figure. A similar manuscript that can be seen in the hands of a Jaina *Saraśvatī* figure from Mathurā, attributed to the same period, is also suggetted as a supporting evidence for this contention, This is obviously a figure of *Hāyagrīva-Viṣṇu*, as is clear from its emblems. In the figure the head of a horse bears neither a crown nor a halo. The figure is not well-ornamented and the *vanamālā*-garland is visible only in parts. Basing on the features of the figure and the style of the sculpture, N.P. Joshi assigns the figure to the early Kushana period between c. 1st to 2nd century A.D. At present this figure is supposed to be the first available of the earliest figures of *Hayagrīva*.

b) A unique figure of the Gupta-Hayagrīva.

A single example of *Hayagrīva* figure, belonging to the gupta-period presently in the possession of the archaeological museum at Mathura,[31] is also brought to the attention of scholars by N.P. Joshi. (Fig. 2) [32] This figure is an architectural fragment showing '*trivikrama*' at one side and a mutilated *Haya-*

griva at the adjacent one. In the catalogue of the Mathura Museum V.S. Agarwala[33] took notice of the Trivikrama side of this piece but not that of *Hayagrīva* which has obviously escaped his attention. Here the deity *Hayagrīva* is four-armed and carries a mutilated club in the upper right hand. The lower right arm is raised to the shoulder in the posture of *abhayamudrā*. The upper left is now totally broken. N.P. Joshi suggests[34] that it might have carried a disc. In the lower left hand we find a conch-shell. Although the horse's head is partially mutilated, it gives a good appearance of a *Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva* even with its existing features typical to *Viṣṇu*.

c) *A Mathura–Hayagrīvā of the later Gupta period.*

The *Hayagrīva* tradition at Mathura continued in the later Gupta period. As an example, we have a rotating image from Mathura carved on four sides showing *Viṣṇu* in a human form, *Varāha*, *Narasiṁha* and *Hayagriva* on the respective sides. This figure of Mathura period assigned to the c. 7th century A.D. is iconographically a highly interesting figure (Fig. 3a, 3b, 3c and 3d). This tells us also that the horse-headed form of *Viṣṇu* assumed a special importance together with other incarnations viz., of *Varāha* and *Narasiṁha*. The identification of the figures on the fourth side as *Hayagrīva* was not certain according to the composers of the text of the catalogue of the Museum for Indian Art, Berlin,[35] but the available figures of the Gupta and the pre-Gupta period show that one can identify it definitely as *Hayagriva*.

d) *Hayagriva figures in Viśvarūpa sculptures*

It is of a special significance to note that *Hayagriva* figures get an appropriate place in the *viśvarūpa* sculptures of Deogarh,[36] Mandasor, Samalaji and Kanauj. K.M. Munshi, in his work 'Saga of Indian sculpture'.[37] published a *viśvarūpa* figure (fig. 4 (a) and 4 (b) from Kanauj of about the 8th century A.D in which one finds a small *Hayagrīva* figure only with two hands. This figure holds a beaded rosary in the right hand and an indistinct, object in the left. This *Viśvarūpa* figure possesses the four animal parts viz., the wild boar, the man-lion, the fish and the tortoise, above his shoulder illustrating his four incarnations -

Varāha, Naraśiṁha, Matsya and *Kūrma*. Another two-armed Hayagrīva is also found behind the crown of a three-faced Viśvarūpa-Viṣṇu image from Samalaji of c. 9th century A.D,[38]

From Baijanath, in Kumaon, we have a magnificient, *Viśvarūpa-Viṣṇu* image which is very similar in style to that of Kanauj.[39] This eight-armed *Viśvarūpa* figure is standing on the hands of the Earth Goddess who is sitting between his feet. The entwined snakes (*Nāga*) are put at either side of the pedastal in salutation posture. The God exhibits a protection-bestowing posture (*abhayamudrā*) and also carries a sword, a mace and an unidentifiable object in the right hands and a shield, a disc, a bow and a conch-shell in the left hands. The personified figures of weapons (*āyudhapuruṣa*) flank him. Just over his crown (*makuṭa*) is *Hayagrīva* and the rest of the images hold lotuses in their hands,

e) *Hayagrīva of the Pāla period from Bengal.*

William Cohn in his "Asiatische Plastik-Heydt Collection Catalogue'[340] refers te a Pala image of Hayagrīva with only two hands, He reports that the faees are to some extent mutilated. This figure belongs to the collection of Luzac & Co., London. He assigns rhis figure to the period of Pala Kings i.e., c. 8th or 9th century A.D. This figure stands as an evidence to the extent of *Hayagriva*-cult in Bengal.

f) *Horse-headed figure from Rajasthan*

R.C. Agrawala reports and illustrates in his article, namely "Three unique and unpublished sculptures of *Hayagrīva* from Rajasthan"[61] three interesting *Hayagrīva* images detable to the 9th and 10th century A.D. All these figures are with four arms and in a standing pose having basket-like crowns (*karaṇḍa-makuṭa*) on their heads. These are discovered at Atru in Rajasthan, now preserved in the Kotah Museum[42] in the same state. These horse-faced figures vary in their features and in the arrangements of different objects in different hands. The weapons held in different hands are quite different. For example, *Varada*, a lotus like mace, a serpent and a *kamaṇḍalu* in no. 262; varada; a lotus like mace, a manuscript and a *kamaṇḍalu* in no. 263.

Varada, lotus like mace, a manuscript and *Kamaṇḍalu* in No. 264. The boon bestowing posture (Varada) and a water jar (*kamaṇḍalu*) are common to all the three figures. Curiously the first figure holds a serpent in one of its hands. Only the *Agnipurāṇa* stipulates that the left leg of *Hayagrīva* should be placed on the divine serpent (*śeṣanāga*). None of the iconographical texts mention *Hayagrīva's* association with a serpent. T.V. Mahalingam[43] suggests that it may be taken as an indication of the possible association of *Hayagrīva* with *Saṁkarṣaṇa-Vyūha* who is said to be connected with the serpent Lord *Ananta*.

R.C. Agrawala reports also in the above mentioned article that he noticed during his tours in Bhilwara region of Mewar three-faced male and female images at Bijolian (Bijolya), the central face of which was that of horse, and the side ones those of a boar and a lion respectively. These are quite unuśual sculptures of the chauhana period in Rajasthan- Regarding the female counter-part of *Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu* figares, we do not have many examples. The consort of *Vaikuṇṭha* does not seem to have acquired such importance. Among the *Pāñcarātra* works only the *Jayākhyā Saṁhitā* (VI.77) prescribes her worship. An image found in Bijolian stands as a rare example of the consort of *Vaikuṇṭha*.[44] This female three-faced image is represented like *Vaikuṇṭha* with three faces. but the central face, instead of being human, is that of a horse. This may indicate the representation of *Śakti* or the female couter-part of the *Hayagrīva* form of *Viṣṇu*. Kalpana Desai is of the opinion that the appearance of a horse-head in such a figure is merely due to the inffuence of *Hayagrīva* worship in Rajasthan where this image is found;[45]

g) *Hayagrīva sculptures of the Hoyasāla period*

Among the enchanting decorative pieces of Hoyasala sculptures, we have a few *Hayagrīva* figures. At the *Lakṣmīnarasiṁha* temple in Nuggahaḷḷi, Mysore State, two beautiful sculptures[46] have been preserved represénting *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* with the respective four and eight arms. The first piece of śculptuee (Fig. (5a and 5 b) shows *Hayagrīva* with four arms, sitting cross-legged upon ā lotus-throne. The objects which he holds in his hands have been damaged. The one right hand shown crossed before the breast, the gesture of wisdom (*Jñanamudrā)*, the thumb and middle finger touching each other. The uplifted right hand shows the rosary (akṣamālā). This figure represents a benign peaceful and calm meditative posture of the deity.

The second one is a piece of sculpture where the profiile of the eight-armed figure of militant Hayagrīva is rṣpresented (Fig. 6). In it he wears a beautiful crown on a clearly recognisable horśe-head. The figure seems to represent the performing of a dance of victory on the corpse of his enemy which lies stretched out upon the ground. The deity is richly decorated with ornaments as usual as in the case of sculptures of the Hoyasala style. In the four right hanḍs he carries a club, an arrow, a disc and a sword. In the four left hands he possesses a conch-shell, a shield, a bow, a lotus. This Hoyasala piece of sculpture is specially interesting because it possesses the signature of the sculptor named Mallitamma of the 13th century.[47] Next to the signature of the artist the pedestal of the statue shows an inscription which declares that this figure is a representation of the god *Hayagrivo*. There are some more examples of Hayagrīva figureś from Nuggahaḷḷi and Halebid (Figs. 7, 8, 9).

h) Sculptures in the Hāyagriva temple at Tiruveṇḍipuram

A special temple dedicated to *Hayagrīvā* is located on hillock in Tiruveṇḍipuram where the great *Vaiṣṇava* reilgious leader *Vedānta Deśika* spent a considerable number of years in his life. *Vedānta Deśika*'s devotion to *Hayagrīva* is well-known. The temple at Tiruveṇḍipuram near Cuddalore in South Arcot District of Tamil Nadu is supposed to be a great centre of *Hayagrīva* worship in South India. The main temple in this place is dedicated to *Devanātha* and the shrine of *Hayagrīva* is a separate one, built on a small hill nearby. Among the sculptures of *Hayagrīva* one figure shows the horse-faced deity in a yogic posture with crossed legs and a *Yogapaṭṭa* binding the legs[40] (Fig. 10). We also find other deities appearing in similar meditative posture with *yogapaṭṭa* e.g. *Yoga Narhsiṁha* (Fig. 11 (a) and 11 (b) *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, Ayyappan etc., in yoga posture. The front pair of arms are placed on the knees while the back left and right carry a disc and a conch-shell with flames rsspectively. The conspicuous ears are exhibited on the fore-head to give the impression of complete horse-head. In this figure the usual *yajñopavīta* is missing. One of the threads in the necklace on the left chest is extended beneath the hanging pendant and goes round the stomach. This posture is that of a '*yogāsana*' with a '*yagapaṭṭa*'. In this posture, the legs are crossed at the ankles and in order to assist the worshipper to keep his knees raised, a band (*yogapaṭṭa)* is tied aroud his legs, encircling his hips. A traditional verse of praise (*stotra*) which describes the iconographical details of *yoga-Narasiṁha* is also applicable to *Yoga-Hayagrīva*. The verse is as follows :

> *Yogapaṭṭa samāsīnaṃ jānunyasta karadvayaṃ |*
> *Śaṁkhacakro dharaṃ devaṃ Yogānandaṁ upāsmahe ||*

Another figure of Tiruveṇḍipuram shows Hayagrīva with Lakṣmī [12(a), 12(b) and 12(c)][49] in the characteristic posture. The deity occupies a seat which is a double *padmāsana* over a *Bhadrāsana* with its left leg bent at the knee, the right hanging down, the upper two hands holding the conventional objects, a disc and a conch-shell, the lower right in the preaching gesture *(vyakhyānamudrā)*, and the left holding *Lakṣmī* who is seated on his left lap with a bud in her hand. Similar iconographical features are found in the figures of Lakṣminārāyaṇa, Lakṣminṛsimha, (Fig. 13) etc. We have an example of Lakṣhmi-Hayagrīva figure from Kumbakonam which has the holy thread *yajñopavīta*, a necklace, a band around the stomoch *(Udarabandha)*, a crown *(kirīṭamakūṭa)* etc. (Fig. 14).

i) Hayagrīva figures at Khajuraho in Central India

In the treasure of sculptures at Khajuraho, we have a few images of *Hayagrīva*. The *Lakṣmaṇa* temple at Khajuraho has the four-armed standing horse-headed *Viṣṇu* in a niche of the *pradakṣaṇapatha*.[50] The deity is flanked by the personified figures of weapons (āyudhapuruṣa). Out of the four arms only the right two arms survived, the lower one in the boon-bestowing posture *(varadamudrā)* and the other holding a mace *(gadā)*. Both the left hands are mutilated. Along with this foure-armed image of *Hayagrīva* belonging to the 11th century at Khajuraho we also have a two-armed *Hayagrīva* image with a bull-*vāhana*.[51]

In one of his hands he holds a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the other is in either *abhayamudrā* or *varadamudrā*.

) *Icons of Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu with Aśvamukha*

Images of *Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu* with side heads of a lion and a boar together with the central human face are well-known to the students of Indian iconography. The *Vaikuṇṭha* figure is an attempt at harmonizing some of his incarnations under the principal form of *Viṣṇu*. In the Kushana period we find the earliest extant depiction of the *Vaikuṇṭha caturmūrti* aspect of *Viṣṇu*, an example of which exhibits now in the Mathurā Museum,[52] in which the side heads were still human in form. As R.C. Agrawala[53] and other scholars[54] pointed out, it was during the Gupta period that the animal heads came to be associated with such *Vaikuṇṭha* icons. Details of the features of the *Vaikuṇṭha* figures are given in the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*[55] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara purāṇa*,[56] which are supposed to be the iconographical texts belonging to the Gupta period. It seems that the *Narasiṁha* and the *Varāha* forms of *Viṣṇu* played an important role in Viṣṇu worship in that period.

Although the above mentioned iconographical texts do not refer to a horse-head in the *Vaikuṇṭha* figures, we come across a few such figures with the horse-head. We have a unique image of the Śakti of *Vaikuṇṭha* from Bijolon of Rajasthan,[57] which has side-heads of a lion and a boar, the central one being that of a horse. The museum at Khajuraho has preserved as interesting *Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu*[58] with side heads of a lion and a boar. The fourth head on the back is that of a horse instead of a demon, which was a usual feature of some *Vaikuṇṭha* figures. It is interpreted that different aspects of the *Vaikuṇṭha* image represent different *vyūhas*. If the central human face represents *Vāsudeva*, both the lion and boar heads symbolise the *vyūhas* of *Saṁkarṣaṇa* and *Pradyumna* respectively. The horse-head behind this figure is described as the fourth vyūha, Aniruddha. This interpretation is based on the statement of the *Mahābhārata* which is as follows: "*Anirudha* appeared before Brahmā with a horse's head bearing a *daṇḍa* and a *Kamaṇḍalu*".[59] The horse-head which appears on the back of the *Vaikuṇṭha* image in Khajuraho

Museum[60] shows the settled conception of the horse-headed deity as a form of Viṣṇu.

A host of *Vaikuṇṭha* figures are exhibited in the Museum at Srinagar (Kashmir), probably because the *Vaikuṇṭha*-cult was quite popular in Kashmir during the early medeieval period. Among them we find an unusual specimen, which is important from the point of view of the *Hayagrīva*-cult (Fig. 16). This *Vaikuṇṭha* figure[61] of immense iconographical interest as it exhibits the face of a horse instead of that of a lion on the left side. Both *Narasiṁha* and *Hayagrīva* represent the *Saṁkarṣaṇa* aspect of the vyūha theology, the essence of which is knowledge and strength. It is suggested that this similarity between the *Narasiṁha* and *Hayagrīva* forms of *Viṣṇu* might have led the sculptor to replace the lion's head with that of a horse. However, only a more stronger motivational spirit behind the presence of a horse-head in the Kashmirian *Vaikuṇṭha* figure might be the wide prevalence of the *Hayagrīva*-cult in those regions.

k) *The horse-headed Śakti in the Vaikuṇṭha image*

According to the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*,[62] the female counterpart of *Vaikuṇṭha caturmūti* is represented by four Goddesses viz. *Lakṣmī*, *Kīrti*, *Jayā* and *Māyā*. The iconographical details of the consorts of different aspects of *Vaikuṇṭhamūrti* are not described vividly in the text. But *Lakṣmi* occupies the eastern side of *maṇḍala*, *Kīrti* the southern, *Jayā* the western and *Māyā* the northern. Similarly *Viṣṇu* occupies the eastern side, *Narasiṁha* the southern, *Kapila* the western and *Varāha* the northern side of the *Vaikuṇṭha* image.[63] Rare image of the standing consort of *Vaikuṇṭha*, which possesses a horse-face in the front, having eight hands, was found in the *Uṇḍeśvara Mahādeva* temple of Bijolian in Rajasthan.[64] Generally *Vaikuṇṭha* images have a human face in the front. We may think that the popularity which *Hayagrīva* worship enjoyed in the Rajasthan might have led the votaries of the *Hayagrīva*-cult to replace the human face of *Viṣṇu* with that of a horse. In discussing the *Hayagrīva* images in Rajasthan we have alredy referred to the images which are preserved in the Koṭah Museum. The image of *Lakṣmī-Vaikuṇṭha* having a *Hayagrīva* face in the front is described in the *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā's* reference regarding the consort of *Vaikuṇṭha* and her horse-face are a clear evidence that the *Hayagrīva* cult was widely prevalent in Kashmir where this text is supossed to have been composed. Besides the Bijolian specimen, we have another sandstone image of the consort of *Vaikuṇṭha*, found from the Site Museum of the *Sahasraliṅga* lake, Patan, in northern Gujarat (Fig. 17). This is an eight-armed standing goddess with a *Rudra* face in the centre, the remaining two faces of a lion and a boar are seen on the right and the left respectively. It is suggested[65] that the fourth face representing the *Hayagrīva* aspect of the *Śakti* is to be imagined. The huge body, heavy head, ornaments and other features suggest that this image belonged to the Chalukhya period in Gujarat, 12th century A.D.[66]

In addition to the *Vaikuṇṭha* image at Bijolian and at the *Sahasraliṅga*-lake, patan in northern Gujarat, the images of the consorts of *Vaikuṇṭha* and the images of *Vaikuṇṭha* are also available from Kadawara (Sourashtra), Palanapura and Sandera (North Gujarat).

l) *Hayagrīva–Mādhava image at Hajo*

We have already seen the *Hayagrīva–Mādhava* temple at Hajo in the light of references from the *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Yoginītantra*, the dates of which are said to be c. 10th and 16th centuries respectively. The wooden images of *Kṛṣṇa*, *Balabhadra* and *Subhadra* of Puri and the story of their origin was recounted in the *Brahmāpurāṇa*, which influenced the *Yoginītantra*. The latter was written when the worship of *Hayagrīva-Mādhavā* was taken up under the patronage of the Koc kings of Kāmarūpa - Assam. The text of the *Yoginītantra* presents an interesting account[67] of the origin of the *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* image, the legend of which bears a similarity to the origin of the image of *Jagannātha* of Puri. It has been said that *Indradyumna*, the king of Orissa, dreamt one night that a big tree would be floating along the sea-shore and he would have to cut it into seven pieces in the morning. Out of them two pieces were to be brought to Kāmarūpa country, of which the image of *Hayagrīva* and *Mathyakhya Madhava* were to be made. An Assamese work by *Śrirāmacandradāsa*, called '*Maṇikūṭa*',[68] contains also the same tale narrated in the *Yogintantra*.

Another peculiar feature of this image at Hajo is that it is worshipped not only by the Hindus as *Hayagriva-Mādhava* but also by the Buddhists as *Mahāmuni* (Lord Buddha). The Buddhists from Sikkim, Bhutan, Tibet and the adjoining territories of China used to visit this temple on some special occasions during the year. Some reports of the British officers and the views of Umesh Chandra Talukdar expressed in his book "The plaee of Mahāparinibhāna of Gautama Buddha",[69] subscribe to the idea that the image was originally that of Lord Buddha and was later mutilated and transformed into an image of *Hayagrīva-Mādhava*. According to Capt. E.T. Dalton,[70] "the Brahmins call it '*Mahāmuni*', the great sage. It is in fact simply a colossal image of Buddha in stone, and perhaps, of all the idols now occupying the holiest places in temples, the only aboriginal one. Its modern votaries with a view to conceal the mutilation have given it a pair of silver goggle-eyes, and hooked, gilt or silvered nose, and the form is concealed from view by pieces of cloth and chaplets of flowers. But, remove these and there is no doubt of the image having been intended for the "ruler of all, the propitious, the asylum of clemency, the all-wise, the lotus-eyed, comprehensive Buddha". Attempts are also made to show that the purāṇic Maṇikūṭa hill at Hajo is Kusābati, which is the place of Mahāparinibbāna of Gautama Buddha. According to this line of thinking, the *Hyagriva-Mādhava* figure (Fig. 18) is in fact a Buddha image, broken and mutilated, was fitted with an artificial horse-head said to be made of a compound of eight substances of which resin is the main and was kept tied with a piece of polished wood, that can be seen from a distance. And with a white cloak over the body there is no means of verifying this, because observers are not allowed to peep into it. It is narrated by some people whenever the artificial part of the image gets damaged it is secretly repaired by the priests at night.

The image of *Hayagriva-Mādhava* does not show striking features of a horse. Whether we believe it or not it seems to be of a different origin. The temple of Hayagrīva at Hajo is a living one and attracts still thousands of pilgrims. Although the deity therein is being worshipped by the Buddhists of Sikkim, Bhutan and other regions, it cannot definetly be stated that the *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* temple was at anytime some sort of a Buddhist shrine. The king Narayana of Cooch (koc), Bihar, is said to have found the temple in an entirely deserted and dilapidated condition and was in the midst of an almost unapproachable thick forest. He got it repaired and endowed it with land, priests, musicians and dancing girls in 1550 A.D. Later in 1583 A.D. Raghudevanārāyaṇa, king of Kamarūpa (1581–93) patronised the reconstruction of the temple on a large scale. The great *Vaiṣṇava* saints of Assam visited Hajo and paid their obeisance to *Hayagrīva-Mādhava*. One of them is Mādhavadēva. When the place came under the Ahom kings, they also made generous donations in honour of this deity. An interesting phenomenon is that *Hayagrīva-Mādhava* was a recipient of a similar generous benevolence from the Muslims who held the country for some time.

m) *A small Hayagrīva shrine in the Śrīrangam Temple*

In the Śrīraṅgam temple of *Raṅganātha*[73] the *pavitra-maṇḍapa* in the second (known as *Kulaśekhara*) enclosure has a shrine with a single cell for *Hayagrīva*. It contains a *Hayagrīva* image as the main figure which is about 2′, 6″ in height, and has four arms, the two upper ones holding a conch-shell and a disc, while the lower ones are in *abhaya* and *varada* postures. This image has to accompany the main image in the procession on festive occasions.

n) *Hayagrīva images at Kāñci*

In Kāñcipuram we find a Hayagrīva image in the North faccade of *ardhamaṇḍapa* in the *Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ* temple (Fig. 19).[74] This temple belongs to the period of Nandivarman II (Pallavamalla) of the 8th century A.D.[75] Here we have a standing *Hayagrīva* with four arms. The upper two arms carry a conch and a disc, one of the lower two is in '*kaṭyavalambitahasta*' and it is not clear what the other hand holds but it probably is in *abhayamudrā*. The figures above are flying divine beings in saluting posture. We are unable to identify the figures in the lower portion in front of *Hayagriva*. A sitting figure with two hands in front of *Hayagriva* may be identified with a high degree of probability as the sage Agasthya before whom the Lord *Hayagrīva* appeared in *Kāñci*, according to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

In the *Varadarājaperumāl* temple at Kāñci also we come across a figure of *Hayagrīva* (Fig. 20.) with two hands on a pillar before whom we find a figure in a saluting-posture folding the hands (*namaskāramudrā*) with great devotion. The identification of the saluting-figure is also problematic. Tentatively we may identify this figure also as the sage Agasthya, because of the association of Agastya with Lord *Hayagrīva* at Kāñci as narrated in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

o) Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu in South-East Asia

P. Dupont refers to an image with a horse-head belonging to the pre-Angkorian period (c. 6th century A.D[76].) This has been identified with kalkin. It is not known whether this identification is correct or not, because objects or weapons in the hand are not to be found due to the image's mutilated condition. But other references in South-East Asia prompt us to believe that this is the earliest example of *Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu* in that region.

Next Veronica Ions[77] illustrates a horse-headed figure in polished sand stone belonging to Kompong Thom of the 10th century (Figs. 2 (a) 2 (b). This is a very good example of the horse-headed *Viṣṇu* from Khmer. This figure possesses only two hands but is badly mutilated. Because of this we do not know which objects these hands carried. Currently this is in the Museē-Guimet, Paris. Identifying it as an example of Kalkin is not unusual among scholars as it was done by Varonica Ions and others. On the basis of the *Hayagrīva* figures with two hands in the Indian context of art history, it is not inappropriate to consider this figure as an example of Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu, and not as an illustration of Kalkin, the last one in the daśāvatāra scheme.

We have at Linteau de Banteay Srei another example of the horse-shaped Viṣṇu which is shown on a harizontal beam, fighting with demons, *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* and reviving Vedas.

The inscriptional sources of 10th and 11th centuries also speak of the *Hayagrīva* incarnation. The inscription of "prasat sankhah" which dates from the reign of Suryavarman I (1002-1050 A.D.) mentions that a Brahmin, Vāgīśvara Paṇḍita, installed the images of *Liṅga*, *Umā*, *Murāri*, *Trivikrama*, *Vājimukha* and Trailokyasara (which indicates the Buddha). Here the word Vājimukha may be identified as *Hayagrīva*. The king Jayavarman VII (1181-1220 A.D.) erected an image of *Hayaśiras* at Prah Khal of Ankor.

In the Combodian statutary we do not know any representation of *Hayagrīva avatāra*. But in the temple of Bantay srei, as we have already seen, the God with the head of the horse is represented as fighting with *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* for the purpose of reviving the Vedas.

p) *A few rare Examples of Hayagrīva images*

Hayagrīva images are not profusely represented in various Museums. We find some examples of *Hayagrīva* metal images [Fig. 22 (a), 22 (b) & 22 (c)] hailing from South India, Madhya Pradesh (Central India) exhibited in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Colombia, U.S.A. These figures are illustrated and their features are discussed by Betty D. Robins in her article "Hayagrīva – A minor Incarnation of Viṣṇu in "MUSE".[78]

We have a nice example of a seated metal image of benign Hayagrīva with a manuscript and abhayamudrā along with disc & conchshell in his four hands in the collection of Museum of Indian Art in Berlin, (West Germany) [Fig 23]. Almost with similar features with slight stylistic variation we find a metal figure of Hayagrīva in benign posture from Pondicherry state (Private collection) [Fig, 24].

There is an example of a wooden popular image of Hayagrīva illustrated by R.H. Van Gulik in his book on Hayagrīva[79] [Fig. 25].

q) *Hayagrīva in Mahāyāna Buddhism*

In Mahāyāna Buddism, Hayagrīva is incorporated as a special deity. Particularly he appears as a god in the Mahāyanic Pantheon without having any contrasting demonic form of the horse-headed one as in the Hindu Mythology. Thus the concept and cult of Hayagrīva got its acceptance by the Buddhist religion in India and later it migrated to such distant countries, influenced by Buddhism, as Tibet, China and Japan. R.H. Van Gulik in his work called "The Mantrayāna aspect of Hayagrīva-cult in China and Japan (Leiden, 1935) discussed in detail the migration Hayagrīva form and its representation in the Buddhist Countries. The important feature of the Buddhist Hayagrīva figures is that we do not find the representation of it with the horse-head and human trunk as a Zoomarspic form. From the head of the figure of Hayagrīva in the human form, either benign or ferocious, one or many emerging heads of the horse are depicted. Sometimes Mahāyāna Buddhist Hayagrīva figures appear embracing their female counterparts (śakti). A few examples are illustrated here to have a glimpse of the Buddhist Hayagrīva Figures [Fig. 26(a), Fig. 26(b), Fig. 26(c), Fig. 26(d), Fig. 26(e), Fig. 26(f), Fig 26(g)] hailing from Tibet, China, Japan etc. namely (1) Hayagrīva embracing his female counterport. (2) Hayagrīva with the staff, (3) Hayagrīva of Tjandi Djago, (4) Hayagrīva as represented in the Taizukai, (5) Hayagrīva with staff and Lotus flower and (7) Hayagrīva on the Water-buffalo.

Chapter IV : REFERENCES

1. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*. ed. (Miss) Priyabala Shah, Khanda III, Vol. I, Baroda, 1958. p. 240 [Gaekwad Oriental series, No. 130]. The verses are the following :

mūrtimat pṛthivīpāla hastapāda smitacchaviḥ |
nīlāmbaradharaḥ kāryo devo hayaśirodharaḥ ||

viddhi saṁkarṣaṇāṅgam vai devam hayaśirodharam |
kartavyo 'ṣṭbhujo devaḥ tat kareṣu catuṣvatha ||

śaṁkhacakragadāpadmān sākārān kārayet budhaḥ |
catvāraśca karāh kāryā vedānām dehadhāriṇām ||

devena mūrdhni vinyastāh sarvābharaṇadhāriṇā |
aśvagrīvena devena purā vedāḥ samuddhṛtāḥ ||

vedāhṛtādānavapuṅgavabhyām
rasātalāddevavareṇa tena |
samuddhṛtā yādavavaṁsa mukhya
turaṅgamūrdhnā puruṣottamena ||

2. The *Agnipurāṇa*, Vol. I, ch. 49, w. 26-27, Translated by Manmohannatha Dutt Sastry (Chowkhomba Sanskrit Series, Benaras 1967) (First published in 1903).

3. The *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, Venkatesa Press, Bombay, IV. 5.9. vv 35-40.

4. Ibid.

5. The Garuḍapurāṇa, Translated by Manmohannath Dutt Sastry, Banaras 1968, (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Vol. LXVIII).

6. The *Pauṣkara Saṁhitā*, Bangalore, 1934.

7. *Vājivāktraḥ smṛtā veda Saṁpūrṇa naralakṣaṇaḥ | Ch. XXIV. 35 b.*

8. *The Śeṣasaṁhitā...* ... ...

9. *Sarvābharaṇa bhūṣāṅgam*
Sacchidānandavigraham ||
Pañca cakradharam dēvam
hayagrīvam nṛkesarim |
(XXIX. 18b – 19a)

10. The Pādma saṁhitā, Bangalore, 1927. 2 vols (Telugu script) and also an edition published by the Sadvidya press, Mysore, 1891 (Telugu script).

11. The Hayaśirṣa Saṁhitā, Ādikāṇḍa, Varendra research society, Rajashahi, 2 Vols. 1952 and 1957.

12. *Śeṣanāgadhṛtam pādaṁ vāmam kāryaṁ mamānagha |*
dakṣiṇam kūrmapṛṣṭhasthām pādaṃ kuryāt sadaiva me ||

śaṃkha cakra gadā veda pāṇim vā kārayet māṃ |
aśvavaktram caturbāhum evameva vyavasthitam ||

puskarāsana madhyasthaṁ devīdvitīya saṁyutaṃ |
evaṃ mamārcā kartavyā... ... ...

The Hayaśīrṣa Saṁhitā, 'Ādi' XXII : 24-26 (Adyar mss) – quoted from Danial Smith's Vaiṣṇava iconography.

13. The Parāśara Saṁhitā.

14. *Hayagrīvaṁ ahaṁ vande cakrapadmadharaṃ vibhuṃ* /
Śrībhūmī sahitaṃ devaṃ sarvābharaṇa bhūṣitaṃ //
The Parāśara. XXVII. 6

15. *Śaṁkha cakra gadā padma jñānapustaka dhāriṇaṃ* /
Hayagrīvaṃ ahaṃ vande kirīṭādivibhūṣitaṃ //
The Parāśara. XXVII, 10

16. *Śaṁkha cakra gadā padma jñānapustaka dhāriṇam* /
Paśāṅkuśa dharaṁ devaṁ hayagrīvaṁ ahaṁ bhaje //
Parāśara, XXVII, 14

17. *Cakra śaṅkha gadā padma pāśa śāraṅgāsi dhāriṇaṃ* /
Jñānādi pustaka dharaṃ hayānana hariṃ bhaje //
Parāśara XXVII, 18.

18. *Śaṅkha cakra gadā padma jñānapustaka dhāriṇaṃ* /
Pāśāṅkhuśāgnivajrādikheta kunta dharaṃ vibhuṃ //
Śrībhūnīlādhipaṃ devaṃ vanamālā virājitaṁ /
Hayagrīvaṁ bhaje nityaṃ sarvābharaṇa bhūṣitaṃ //
Parāśara XXVII, 22–23.

19. The *Īśvara Saṁhitā*. Sudarsana Press. Kanci 1923 (in Devanagari) and Sadvidya Press, Mysore 1890 (in Telugu script).

20. *Taśya sthūlataraṁ rūpaṃ śruṇu* tatprāptaye paraṃ /
Tuhinācala saṅkāśaṃ saumyavaktraṃ caturbhujaṃ //
Kāmārthavudvahantam ca śaṁkha padmacchalena ca /
Sādhumārge sthitānāṁ tu samyacchantam dhiyā ca tau //
Sitākṣamālā garbhaṃ tu *varapāṇiṁ ataḥ samācaret* /
(The *Īśvara Saṁhitā*, XXII, 247–249a.)

21. The *Śrīprasna Saṁhitā*, Maṅgarilasa Press, Kumbhakonam, 1904 (in grantha script)

22. *Ananto kṣīravarṇaḥ syāt garuḍaḥ kāñcanaprabhaḥ* /
Rudraḥ śoṇitavarṇaḥ śyād hayagrīvo valarkṣabhaḥ

23. *Klīm kavacaṁ hrīm astram śvetavarṇaṁ caturbhujam* /
ṣaḍaṅgaṁ ṣaṭ svarair yasya pūrvoktaṁ samsmaran japet /
vande pūritacāñāramaṇḍalagataṁ śvetāravindāsanaṁ
mandākinyāmṛtābja kunda kumudakṣīrendubhāsam hariṁ /

Mudrāpustaka śaṁkhacakravidhṛta śrīdhrumād bhujamhuḍalaṁ,
Niryānnirmalabhāratī pāraimalaṁ Viśveśaṁ aśvānanaṁ /

(The *Śeṣa Saṁhitā*, XXII - 22-23)

24. The Pādmasaṁhitā, Bangalore 1927. 2. Vols. (Telugu script) and Sadvidya press, Mysore. 1891 (Teluga script)

25. *tuhinācalasaṇkāśaṁ saumyavaktram caturbhujaṁ* – *Īśvara Saṁhita* XXII 247b

26. *Hayagrīvam ahamvande sphaṭikācalasannibham* – *Viṣṇutilaka*

27. *aśṛjan mānasaṃ putraṃ raktāngaṃ tu caturbhujam* – The *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā*, Indra – III. 60a

28. The *Śilparatra*, Ch. 23, v.15 [Trivendrum Sanskrit Series No. 98; 1929] The verse is the following :

    Kṣīrodanvadudāra vicivalayairatyastasitikṛte
    hemāsvath suradrume maṇimaye simhasane projjvale /
    āsīnam hayavaktramindu vapuṣaṁ vyākhyāna mudrānvitam
    śiṣyebhyaḥ pratipādayantamanisam śāstrāṇi vidyāmvhaṃ //

29. Hemādri, The Caturvargacintāmaṇī, Bibliothooa Indica Series, 72, Vol. II. pt. I, p. 120.

    The verses are as follows :

    Mūrtimān pṛthivī hastanyastapādaḥ sitacchaviḥ /
    nīlāmbaradharaḥ kāryo devo hayaśirodharaḥ
    Vindyāt saṁkarṣaṇāṁśena devo hayaśirodharaḥ /
    Kartavyoṣṭabhujo devaḥ tat kareṣu caturthataḥ //
    śaṁkham cakram gadām padmam svākāraṅkārayed budhaiḥ /
    catvāras ca karaḥ kāryā vedānām dehadhāriṇaḥ //
    devena mūrdhni vinyaastāḥ sarvābharaṇadhāriṇaḥ /

30. N.P. Joshi, *Hayagrīva* in Brahmtnical Iconography, in : The Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. V. pp. 36–42 (V.S. Agarwala commemoration Volume, pt. II. 1972–73).

31. The Archaeological Museum, Mathura No. 36: 2664.

32. N.P. Joshi, 'Hayagrīva in Brahminical Iconography........ p. 38.

33. V.S. Agrawala, 'A catalogue of the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in Mathura Art' in : The Journal of U.P. Historical Society. Vol. XXII. 1949. p. 113.

34. N.P. Joshi. 'Hayagrīva in Brāhminical Iconography'.........p. 38.

35. Herbert Haertel, Volker Moeller and G Bhattacharya, "MUSEUM FUR INDISCHE KUNST, BERLIN", Katalog, 1971. (Stastliche Musessum Preubischer Kulturbesisstz, Berlin).

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39. K P. Nautiyal, An interesting Viṣṇu image from Baijanath. in: Bulletin of Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. XXII, p. 170 ff.

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41. R.C. Agrawala, Three unique and unpublished sculptures of Hayagriva from Rajasthan in: Jouranl of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XI No. 3, pp. 281-282.

42. Nos. 1950/nos. 262-264

43. T.V. Mahalingam, Hayagrīva-the concept and the cult, in: The Adyar Library Bulletin Vol. XXIX, pts. 1-4, p. 197.

44. Benerjee, ADRIS, Interesting images from South East Rajasthan, in: Lalitakala, 12, pp. 21-25 and see also V.S. Parekh, A rare sculpture of the consort of Vaikuṇṭha in: Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda, vol. XXV, March-June 1976, Nos. 3-4, pp. 390-392.

45. Kalpana Desai, Iconography of Viṣṇu. New Delhi, 1973. p. 47 and for further details see also the same author's note on the image of consort of Vaikuṇṭha in: Lalitakala, No. 13. pp. 51-52.

46. Cf T A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, pt. 2, Madras 1914, pp. 240-261 (Appendixc. p. 58) and also Report of the archaelogical Department for the year 1912-13, Mysore, pp. 2-3.

47. M. Seshadri, Ruvari Mallitamma, in : The half yearly journal of Mysore University Vol. XVII, 2, March 1958, pp. 31-33 :

Ruvari Mallitamma, the most eminent and outstanding sculptor of many figures in the Hoyasala temples of Mysore region, appears to have been first patronised by Amṛteśvara Daṇḍanāyaka, who got the temple of Amṛteśvara built an Amṛtapura in the Tarakere Taluk, Mysore state in 1196 A.D. during the reign of Bhalla II. Not only on this temple, but also he worked on the Keśava temple at Harnahalli and another temple of Keśava at Somanāthapura, the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temples at Javagal in the Hassan District and at Nuggahalli where we have the image of Hayagrīva with sculptor's signature. He produced many such magnificient pieces of sculptures in well-ornamented decorative Hoyasala style.

48. Cf. T.V. Mahalingam, Hayagrīva-the concept and the cult......Fig. I.

49. Ibid. Fig. II.

50. Cf. Kalpana Desai. Iconography of Viṣṇu. New Delhi. 1973. pp. 143-144. Fig. 103.

51. U. Agarawala Khajuraho Sculptures and their signifieance. Delhi 1964. p. 42.

52, Cf. Kalpana Desai, Ieonography of Viṣṇu, Fig. 31. illustration of Caturmūrti, C. 4th century A.D.

53. R.C. Agrawala, unusual Icons of Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu with Aśvamukha, in : Journal of the Oriental Institute. Vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4; March & June, Baroda 1976, pp. 887-9.

54. Kalpana Desai, Iconography of Viṣṇu.........p. 39

55. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. LIV, patala. 6, V. 77.

56. The *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, Vol. I, III, 44, vv. 9-13.

57. See above Fn. 41 of this chapter.

58, See below fn. 60.

59. The *Nārāyaṇīya* section of *Mokṣadharma* in the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* (cri. ed. III. 27. v. 86)

60. V.S. Pathak's article in the journnl of MPIP, II Bhopal (p. 14) suggests it to be a ball's head but the mistake was duly corrected by K. Deva

(Ibid, Fn. 4 on p. 14) and also see the same fn. 4 in p. 14 of the same source : The photograph of this image is published by R.A. Awasthi in the book *Khajuraho ki Devapritimaye*, Agra 1967, p. 68.

61. R.C. Agrawala, unusual icons of Vaikuṇṭha-Viṣṇu with Aśvamukha in : Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4, pp. 387-389.

62. The *Jayākhya Saṁhita*, 1931 , VI. 77.

63. The *Jayākhya Saṁhita*, XIII, 108-9.

64. Benerjee ADRIS, Interesting images from South-east Rajasthan, in : Lalita Kala, 12, p. 21-25, ps. XV & XVI, fig. 1, 2, 8; see also Kalpana Desai's detailed note on this image was previously noticed by Bandarkar in the progress report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western circle at Poona for 31st March 1905, p. 53.

65. V.S. Parekh, A rare sculpture of the consort of Vaikuṇṭha, in : Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. XXV, nos. 3-4, March & June 1976, p. 391.

66. Ibid, p. 392.

67. John Dowson, A Classical history of Hindu Mythology, Religion, Geography and Literature pp. 189-90.

68. Paṇḍita Hemachandra Goswami, in his typical selections from Assamese literature, Vol. II. pt. 3. Calcutta University 1924 includes a few verses from this work which is there named *Hayagrīva*-Mādhava in the heading and the *Yoginītantra* in the body of the text. This date of composition is distinctly given as 1608 śaka (1686 AD) and the place of composition is mentioned as Gadagrāma, the capital of old Ahome kingdom.

69. Umesh Chandra Talukdar, The plaee of Mahaparinibbana of Gautama Baddha, Calcutta, 1957.

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72. Cap. E.T. Dolton...........p. 10.

73. V.N. Hari, Rao, The Śrīrangam Temple, Art and Archaeology, Tirupati 1967, p. 24 (Sri Venkateswa University Historical series. 8)

74. K.V. Raman, Sri Varadarajaswamy Temple-Kāñci, New Delhi 1975 p. 171 and K.V. Soundara Rajan, Indian Temple Styles, New Delhi 1972, p. 106.

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CHAPTER V

Hayagrīva-cult and religious schools of Hinduism

In this chapter we deal with the extent of the Hayagrīva-cult and the influence it has exercised on the great religious schools of Indian tradition. The well-known Ācaryas of the Vedāntic tradition came into contact with the magical touch of Hayagrīva-Viṣṇu in one context or other. Some have interpreted a few vedic words in terms of Hayagrīva. Others have direct touch with Hayagrīva as their personal deity acting as an object of worship showing grace on them. In the case of Aḻvārs, the early Vaiṣṇava saints of Tamil region, the praise of the horse-headed form of Viṣṇu among others is not unknown. In the following pages We shall try to mention various references regarding this form of Viṣṇu with their significance.

I. *Advaitic Tradition – Śaṅkarācārya*

Śaṅkarācārya interprets the word '*tīrthakara*' in terms to mean Hayagrīva in his commentary on *Śrī Viṣṇusahasranāma-stotra*[1]. Here the word '*tīrthakara*' is interpreted as the propounder and preceptor *(praṇetā* and *pravaktā)* of the fourteen vidyās[2] which belong to the vedic tradition and also the scriptures which are non-vedic in their nature. Śaṅkara mentions here that the Lord Viṣṇu, having killed the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha taught the knowledge of Vedas and other allied Vidyas to *Brahmā (Viriñci)* in the beginning of creation *(sarga)* and preached also the non-vedic knowledge to the enemies of gods for deceiving them. He says that this conception is in accordance with the purāṇic tradition. The peculiarity of this interpretation, although that it is according to the purāṇic tradition, is to show Hayagrīva as a source of scriptures within and without the purview of the Vedic sanction. This interpretation brings to our memory the Puraṇic references relating to Hayagrīva as a reviver and propounder of the Vedic wisdom and also particular to his teaching of it at the time of the beginning of the creation. There is no mention of his exposition of the non-Vedic scriptures. This factor reminds us of the references regarding the incarnation of Viṣṇu such as the Buddha, who was supposed to be a teacher of the non-Vedic wisdom in order to mislead the recipients of the teaching. The word *vañcana* (fraud) that is used in the commentary demonstrates this point.

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II. Vaiṣṇava Tradition

Naturally, *Vaiṣṇava* preachers and saints have due regard for the horse-headed deity as a form of Viṣṇu :

a) Nammaḷvār

The earliest mystic Tamil Vaiṣṇava saint of South India namely Parāṅkuśa (Nammaḷvār), otherwise known as Śaṭhakopamuni who is one of the twelve Aḷvār saints, mentions and praises the incarnation of Hayagrīva in his second śataka of Tiruvāymoḷi.[3]

b) Tirumangaiaḷvār

In the Periyatirumoḷi of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvar, we have two verses regarding the glory of Hayagrīva as follows :

"Look! (here is) the lord, who came in the form of the horse-faced one, taught the meaning of the Vedas together with all the aspects (kala), when these seven worlds were covered by darkness (ignorance) and the sages together with the demons were in a state of confusion."[4]

"(O Lord!) Once taking the form of horse-faced one, you taught the vedas to Brahmā, seated on lotus, saying that the "*svaras*" are important to the Vedas, please protect me."[5]

c) Kulaśekhara Āḷvār

One of the greatest devotees of the royal origin Kulaśekhara Āḷvar, in his well-known work, the Mukundamālā refers to Hayagrīva, mentioning the Lord's victory over Madhu and Kaiṭabha.[6]

d) Yāmunācarya

Yāmunācārya, the grandson of the great *Vaiṣṇava* saint Nāthamuni and also the *paramaguru* of *Rāmānujācārya*, mentions the incarnation of *Hayagrīva* in an indirect manner relating the event of the theft of the Vedas and the regaining of them by destroying the demons who have stolen them.[7]

e) *Rāmānujācārya*

In a few biographical accounts of Rāmānujacārya, We find his association with the Lord *Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva*. According to Āndhrapūrṇa's work, the "*Yatirājavaibhava*"[8], Muvvayarappadi's '*Guruparaṁparāprabhāva*'[9] and other texts, Rāmānujācārya during his visit to Kashmir wanted to acquire the *Bodhāyanavṛtti*, on which his commentary on the Brahmasūtras is based, from the *Śāradāpīṭha* at Srinagar (Kashmir). But he was not allowed to take it. In different Rāmānuja's biographies there are discrepancies regarding this event, but it is a general conception that Rāmānujācārya's disciple Kureśa could memorize the whole *Bodhāyanavṛtti* with his intellectual power. An important incident is that Rāmānujācārya was blessed with both the manuscript of *Bodhāyanavṛtti* and also an image of *Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva* directly from the hands of the Goddess *Sarasvatī*.

In *Guruparamparāprabhāva*,[10] it is said that Tirukkuruhaippirān Pillān, the spiritual son (*jñānaputra*) of Emberumānār (Rāmānuja) got the image of Lord *Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva*, given by *Sarasvatī* to Rāmānujācārya in Kashmir, as a gift. Thus the role of the supernatural elements played in the biographies of the great religious leaders is not a rare factor in the Indian tradition

The story of Rāmānujacārya getting the image of *Hayagrīva* is also mentioned in a work called the '*Amṛtāsvādinī*' composed by Srimadabhinavaraṅganātha Brahmatantra Parakālaswāmi[11] and Andhrapūrṇa's '*Rāmānuja-aṣṭhottara-śatanāma-stotra*'.[12]

f) *Vedāntadeśika*

Vedāntadeśika[13] is a well-known *Vaiṣṇava* scholar and a very famous devotee of *Hayagrīva*. His *Hayagrīva-stotra* had a wide range of appreciation. He got initiated into the mysticism and esotericism of the *garuḍamantra* by his *Guru* Atreya Rāmānuja before his death about A.D. 1295. Since then Vedāntadeśika, occupying Achārya's seat of Kāñcipuram started an active propagation of *Śrībhāṣya* and *Śrīvaiṣṇava* spiritual doctrines. For some reason he shifted his scene of activity from Kāñcīpuram to Tiruvahīndrapuram (Tiruveṇḍipuram). There he repeated the *garuḍamantra* very intensively and completed his spiritual practice of it, which might have impelled him to take his seat of activity at Tiruvahīndrapuram, supposedly a quieter place than Kāñcīpuram, the populous capital city of the then Cholas. It is said that Vedāntadeśika was initiated into the *Hayagrīvamantra* by *Garuḍa.* According to the biographical accounts, Vedāntadeśika at Tiruvahīndrapuram was charmed by the surroundings of that place with the stream of *Gaḍilam* of *Garuḍanadi*, on the banks of which stand even today the *Devanāyaka* temple and also the neighbouring *Hayagrīva* temple. It was there in those serene surroundings that he meditated upon *Garuḍa* by whom he was initiated into the *Hayagrīvamantra.* According to a tradition, he was engaged in a vast literary activity during his stay at Tiruvahīndrapuram. He is said to have composed devotional literature in Sanskrit and Tamil. Some of his well-known Sanskrit poems such as the *Devanāyakapañcāśati*, the *Hayagrīvastotra*, the *Acyutaśataka*, the *Gopālaviṁśati*, and the *Garuḍapañcāśati* were composed there. Particularly the *Hayagrīvastotra* is a hymn on Lord *Hayagrīva* containing thirty two stanzas mostly composed in *upajāti* metre. Probably it is the first poetical work of Vedāntadeśika. Even today, the seat, where Vedāntadeśika sat and composed the *Hayagrīvastotra* is shown to the visitors by the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* at Tiruvehīndrapuram. The *Hayagrīva-stotra* is recited even now by the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* of Tiruvahīndrapuram during the *Brahmotsava* celebrations of the deities there. This hymn commanded a reverencial respect by *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* as they considered it to be the poetical idealisation of the esoteric secret wisdom of the *Hayagrīvamantra.* This also inspired a few scholars to comment on it. Mahācarya, the famous critic and philosopher, seems to be very fond of this hymn and highly appreciates it in his '*Vaibhavaprakāśikā.*' It has been commented upon by Velāmūru Śrīnivāsācārya and Śrīśaila Tirumalainambi Raghavāchārya in Sanskrit. Its Tamil interpretations by Kuruchi Gopāla Tātācārya and Garaya Venkatācārya are well known. According to Vedāntadeśika, conception depicted in his hymn on *Hayagrīva*, the God of learning is the indweller of his heart, the soul of his soul, and the inner ruler immortal. He Visualises the God of learning as a divine light who leads him on the path of virtue, truth and happiness. Then he sees his deity in the form of a *Guru*, who illumines the heart of the aspirant with the spark of wisdom.

There is an interesting story in the life of Vedānta Deśika which narrates an event of horse eating away the grain. Here the horse stands for Hayagrīva. Once Vedānta Deśika crossed the river *Kāverī* and went to a brahmin-locality for getting food by begging. Before he could return to perform his worship of the Lord, the river was swollen with floods quite unexpectedly. Therefore, he was forced to remain on the otherside itself. The Lord *Hayagrīva*, his favourite deity, entered in a field and was eating the grains in the form of a usual horse. The owner of that feild, not knowing whose horse it was, tied it to a pole. Next morning when the floods receded, Vedānta Deśika returned back to his home and commenced the worship of his beloved God. But he could not see the idol of *Hayagrīva* there and was much worried about this. By his superhuman vision, he could visualise everything that happened and repented for the offence that he has committed with regard to the daily offering of food to be made to the Lord. He could not offer the '*naivedya*' to the deity because he was dissuaded by the floods of river and he was detained unforeseeingly on the otherside of the river. At this juncture Vedānta Deśika, sang the following verse :

Hayavadana bhagavato mayi yadi karuṇā syāt
anargala sapadi /

Atra sametya sucam me nirākariṣyatyasaṁśayaṁ
kṣipram //[14]

(If the horse-faced Lord has abundance of mercy for me, he is sure to come back here and remove my grief quickly.)

Immediately after reciting this verse, the white gallopping horse passed through the street and entered the house of Vedānta Deśika and finally disappeared very near to his altar of Worship. All people were astonished to see this miraculous event and became deeply devoted to Vedāanta Deśika.

g) *The Parakāla Mutt*

Hayagrīva is the presiding deity for the pontiffs of the Parakala Mutt,[15] which belongs to the *Vaḍagalai* sect of Vaiṣnavism in South India. According to a legend the founder of the Parakala Mutt had associations with *Vedānta Deśika* at Kāñcipuram. We already know how au important role Vedāntadeśika's great devotion played in his life. Along with the image of *Lakṣmīnārāyana*, the idol of *Lakṣmīhayagrīva* commands a great respect and devotion and stands as a source of inspiration for the pontiffs of the Mutt. At present the head quarters of the Mutt is stationed at Mysore, where the beautiful image of *Lakṣmīhayagrīva* gets daily worship and is also honoured with a special kinds of worship during festive occasions. For a long time the pontiffs of the Mutt and also the deities therein enjoyed royal patronage. The royal family of the Wodayars at Mysore showed a great devotion to the deity *Hayagrīva.*

There are various royal orders *(sannads)* with different dates given by the Wodayars which give us imformation regarding *Hayagrīva* together with *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* as the donee for receiving various gifts.[16] In one of such *sannads* it is mentioned that on the occassion of a solar eclipse a gift of land was made for the services of the gods *Hāyagrīva* and *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.*[17] Another '*sannad*' of Krishnaraja Wodayar III reports that the Swami of the Mutt, *Brahmatantra Ghaṇṭāvatāra Parakālaswami* as the donee. The donar granted the payment to the Parakala Mutt from the income of certain taluks for the expenses of the services of the gods of the Mutt[18] Another *sannad* of the same ruler states that the king is supposed to have ordered a grant of 454 '*Varāhas*' for the feeding of sixty two Brahmins on the Tirupati hill every day in the presence of Lord *Hayagrīva.*[19] Not just from the rulers of the Wodayar family but also from other Rajas the deities of Mutt got gifts. Once during the religious tour of the svāmi, the Raja Pallanayaka, Raja Damana Gopala Nayaka and Bahari Balwant Asaf Jha, made a gift of Sirgur Devapura village to the deities of the Mutt.[20] The Raja of Vanaparti and his spouse Rāṇi Śaṅkaramma and others made offerings of the two golden jewels to the deity *Hayagrīva* and also a grant of the village of Rangapur.[21]

Whenever the dignitaries come to visit the pontiffs of the Parakala Mutt, it was customary to offer worship to the deities of the Mutt. As an illustration the Rāja of Karvetinagar once escorted the swami of the Mutt and performed the worship of *Hayagrīva*.[22] Sometimes the *Hayagrīva*-worship used to take place in the royal palace at Mysor on such occassions the swami of the Mutt, with all the royal peraphernalia and escort entered the fort through the northern gateway, installed the deity *Hayagriva* in the *Ambāvilās* (a hall in the palace) and worshipped the deity. Occasionally the worship of *Hayagrīva* is conducted in the palace at noon-time. *Dolotsava* is also performed after the evening worship *(ārādhana)*.[23] Not only special *pūja* was performed by the swami of the Parakala Mutt in the Royal Palace but also on special requests the swami used to perform the worship of *Hayagrīva* in private houses. On the invitation of Sri Tirumalai Srinivasachariar the Swami was led to Srinivasa Gopalachariar's residence where he performed various religious rites and the worship of *Hayagrīva*.[24]

During his travels for the propagation of *Vaiṣṇavadharam*, His Holiness of the Parakala Mutt takes with him the Hayagrīva image. For example when he proceeded to *Brahmagiri* and thence to *Talakāverī* the swami descended from his palanquin and deposited the *Hayagrīva* image in a pavilion constructed for the purpose there. Then, having bathed and performed his ablutions, he performed *abhiṣeka* to *Hayagrīva* with the sacred waters of the river Kāverī. Afterwards he took the *tīrtha* himself and distributed it among the others.[25] Sometimes during the long journeys the Swami used to meet other swamijis belonging to other monesteries. In 1851 His Holiness of Parakala Mutt met the Swami of Udipi. In their get-together the worship of Lord *Hayagrīva* has an appropriate and prominent place.[26]

It is very interesting to note that at times the pontiffs of the Parakala Mutt expressed their strong devotion to Lord *Hayagrīva* by adding certain titles to their names. For example *Śrīmadabhinava Raṅganātha Brahmatantra Parakāla Mahādeśika* had the title "*Śrī Lakṣmī-hayagriva divya padukāśevaka* (the servant of the holy sandals of Lord *Lakṣmī-Hayagrīva*.[27]

Particularly the great devotion to Lord Hayagrīva by the royal patrons at Mysore is exhibited by the various practices of the Mutt on different occasions. On the occasion of the birth day celebrations of the members of the Royal family as well as on other festive occasions and also at the time of deaths in the Royal family, the pontiffs of the Mutt played an important religious part by sending *tīrtha*, *prasāda* and *mantrākṣata* to the Palace. Not only on these special occasions but also every day the Royal family members sent material for worship to the Mutt but also received daily the flowers offered the day before to Hayagrīva *(nirmālya)*, *tīrtha* and *prasāda*. The practice continued until recent years, when it went out of vogue due to the change in the status of the royal family of Mysore.

We have to mention here a very important event which tells us the story how a great German scholar Rudolf Otto was attracted towards the image of Lord *Hayagrīva*. During the visit to India of Rudolf Otto of Marburg (Germany) and J.N. Heinrich Frick, on 13th December 1927,[28] an interview with His Holiness of Parakāla Mutt was granted to acquaint themselves with the tenets of Rāmānuja's philosophy. Rudolf Otto was immencely pleased with His Holiness' elucidation of the system and requested him to give the Swami's own portrait that might adorn the walls of the University of Marburg. He also requested that an image of Lord *Hayagrīva* in silver be made to be sent to the University of Marburg for its valuable collection. Then the Swami of Parakāla Mutt on 16th December 1929 sent to the professor through Sri Subramahnya Ayyar, retired Registrar of Mysore University, his portrait as well as a silver image of *Hayagrīva* and a few Sanskrit verses written in *Devanāgari* script composed by way of blessings to "the universal religious conference" convened by Prof. Rudolf Otto.[29]

It is appropriate here to reproduce the letter of Prof. Rudolf Otto and J.N. Heinrich Frick after receiving the aforementioned objects[30]—

Marburg, the 10th of December 1930

To

His Holiness, the Parakalasvamin,
Parakalamatha, Mysore.

Your Holiness,

In the name of the University of Marburg and of the "Religionskundliche Sammlung" we render our sincerest thanks to You for the generous and beautiful gifts of the fine silver image of *Hayagrīva-Nārāyaṇa* and of your own portrait, which you have sent to our collection. They give us a deep impression of the noble symbolism of Indian religion and of the personality of one of its most important representatives and patriarchs. They help us, to show to our students, how religion expresses itself in India in refined symbols as well as in noble human characters. It is our sincere wish, to introduce our students into the rich spiritual life and culture of Indian as well as other Asiatic religions. And we beg to recommend our collection to Your further interest for this purpose.

With due reverence,

The Directors of the Religious
Collection of Marburg:
( ) Seal of Religionskundiche Sammlung
Der Universitaet Marburg
(Sd.) D.Dr. RUDDLF OTTO
(Sd.) J.N. HEINRICH FRICK

Der Kurator
Der Universitaet Marburg:
(Sd.) GEHETMER OBERREGIERUNGSRAT
( ) Seal of Der Kurator
Der Universitaet Marburg a/L.

III. The Dvaita Tradition

(a) Sri Madhvāchārya

The founder of the *Dvaitasampradāya*, Madhvāchārya alias Ānandatīrtha refers to the deity *Hayagrīva* in a few contexts. In his work *Tantrasāra*[31] he describes the deity with four hands, holding a conch, the rosary, a book and exhibiting the *ñānamudrā* with the fourth hand. The commentary on the text (verses 53, 54)[32] mentions the *mantra* of *Hayagrīva* and also the reward to be obtained by the repetition of *mantra*. We come across references to the story of *Hayagrīva* and his victory over *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha* for reviving Vedas in Ānandatīrtha's *Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya*.[33] It is an interesting point to note that we do not find *Hayagrīva* as one of the presiding deities in any of the eight Mutts founded by Ānandatīrtha and entrusted to his different disciples who became their pontiffs. Although Ānandatīrtha refers to *Hayagrīva* in his works, the god did not gain a special status in his life and work as he did in the case of Vādirāja from whose time onwards he played an important role in the *Dvaita* tradition.

(b) *Vādirāja*

Saint Vādirāja, the disciple of Vyāsarāya, was a great devotee of *Hayagrīva* and composed a number of verses under the nom-de-plume *Hayavadana* to honour his beloved deity. The events of Vādirāja's life are narrated in his work of an autobiographical nature, the *Svapnabṛndāvanakhyāna*.[34] Various instances in the life of Vādirāja show his intensive devotion to *Hayagrīva* and also the strength he got out of it.

Once an icon-making goldsmith wanted to make a good idol of *Gaṇeśa* in an alloy of five metals *(pañcaloha)*. He prepared a mould and then poured molten metal into it. Afterwards he opened it but to his surprise he found in it not *Gaṇeśa* but an icon of a horse-faced deity with four hands. He was perplexed by this and threw the image aside in his workshop to melt it again for remaking a Gaṇeśa figure. The wonder was that the icon did not cool even after a few days. Loosing his patience, without waiting any longer, he began to crush it on an anvil with a heavy hammer. But the cast would neither lose it shape nor cool down. The goldsmith was much disappointed and gave up this effort. On the same day during the night, he had a dream in which he was told how Lord's grace was showered on him by the icon of the horse-headed deity. He was counselled not to try to destroy it any more but to give to an young recluse, who would come for it the next day. That young recluse who received the icon from the goldsmith was Vādirāja. According to a legend, this idol of *Hayavadana* is still being worshipped in the Śrī Sode Mutt, being given the honoured place by the side of the presiding deity of the Mutt, *Varāha*. It is said that this event regarding the *svarṇakāra* made the entire goldsmith-community of South canara to become an ardent followers of Vādirāja.[35]

Another important incident in Vādirāja's life was the consumption of the '*naivedya*' by the Lord in the form of a white horse. Because a horse is fond of lentils Vādirāja would get a special dish cooked with bengalgram-dal, dried grapes, copra, cardamoms, ghee, jaggery, and bananas and offer it as '*naivedya*' to Lord *Hayavadana* during the *pūjā* time every day. Vādirāja held over his head in a vessel *naivedya* called '*Hayagrīva maddi*', a preparation of bengalgram with other ingradeints putting it in a vessel. The Lord would come out of the idol, unseen by others as a beautiful white horse, put its hooves on Vādirāja's shoulders from behind and eat the '*naivedya*'. Vādirāja in the ecstasy of this unique experience composed the *Daśāvatārastotra*, celebrating the ten incarnations of *Viṣṇu* in *aśvadhāṭi* (horse-trot) metre, which with its rythmic alliteration gradually reaches its galloping climax at the time of Lord *Hayavadana* consumes the *naivedya*. This was supposed to be the regular recitation of Vādirāja at the time of offering the *naivedya*.

An interesting event relating to this direct consumption of the '*naivedya*' by the Lord is narrated. The temple priests always wondered at the reduced quantity of the *naivedya*, that Vādirāja swami used to bring out the shrine. They thought that the swamiji himself must have eaten some part of the food meant for the Lord. They could not believe that the image of the Lord accepted the *naivedya* from the devotee. One day they decided to teach Vādirāja a lesson and mixed some poison in the "*Hayagrīva maddi*". As usual, the Swami closed the doors of the shrine at the time of the offering of the food. After the Lord had eaten he removed the bowl from his head and was surprised to see empty vessel. He questioned his Lord why he did not leave some '*prasāda*' for his devotees. The priests who were awaiting outside to watch the developments could not believe their eyes when the Swami opened the doors of the shrine and stepped out muttering "No *prasāda* for us today. He has left absolutely nothing for us". The priests entered the shrine and found that the bowl has been licked clean and the image of the Lord had turned blue. Only then they realised that their swamiji had actually been feeding the lord with the '*naivedya*' everyday. They hurriedly approached him and fell at his feet confessing their quiet.

Another story[36] is told about the playful *(līlā)* activities of the horse-headed deity as the beautiful white horse. When Vādirāja was camping at Pandaripur it happened so that the white horse would go out to the nearby fields and eat away some of the tender bengalgram plants. One day the farmer found that the white horse destroying his crop. He chased it and followed it to determine the owner. He saw the horse entering the abode where Vādirāja was staying. The farmer angrily complained to the saint about the activities of the white horse which he thought had belonged to him. Vādirāja understood the situation and visualised that it was the sportive play of his Lord *Hayagrīva*. He told the farmer that he had no horse of any colour whether black or white. The farmer searched Vādirāja's premises but there was no horse at all to be found. He was astonished at this because he had himself followed the horse to the place. For him it is really mysterious. He doubted his own senses and wondered whether he was experiencing an illusion or a hallucination. He begged Vādirājaswāmi to clear the mystery. Vādirāja told him that it was the luck of the farmer to see Lord *Hayavadana* in the form of the beautiful white horse. If the farmer needed proof of his good fortune of the darshan of the Lord, Vādirāja said the farmer should see the next morning how the plants have been eaten away by the horse. The next day the farmer saw that all the bengalgram plants that the white horse had eaten before bore gold lentils. Finally, the farmer apologized and donated the entire farm to the Mutt of Vādirāja.

Another event[37] in the life of Vādirāja also is concerned with the Lord *Hayagrīva* as a white horse. During the Vādirāja's stay at the outskirts of Belur a white horse was regularly entering an adjoining farm to eat away the tender bengalgram plants. The farmer wanted to seize the horse but did not succeed. It would run towards where Vādirāja staying and disappeared. On verification he found that there was no horse with Vādirāja. He met the Swami and asked for an explanation about this. Vādirāja answered him by explaining the playful activities of the Lord in the form of a white horse. The farmer insisted that he should see the Lord once more, but Vādirāja advised him that he had seen much more than any mortal eyes had seen. He said that he insisted he could see the Lord again at the cost of his eye-sight. By the insistence of the farmer Vādirāja asked him to come the next morning during the *pūjā* time. When he came, the Swami asked him to keep one eye open and keep the other fully closed, with a packing of butter on to keep it cool. As usual the beautiful horse came out of the idol and started eating the '*naivedya*' held on Vādirāja's head keeping its forelegs on his shoulders. Such a spectacular scene was witnessed by the farmer. The eye which had seen this enchanting divine sight became completely blind. In this immense happiness the farmer donated his farm to Vādirāja.

Once in Belur some Pathan robbers came to plunder all the possessions of Vādirāja at night. Vādirāja's desciples and followers ran away in great fear, leaving Vādirāja to protect himself and also the image of his beloved God. Instead of robbing him, the Pathans came to the Swami and surrendered themselves to him saying how a number of fully armed men on white horses were seen all around him in protection of the saint and the Mutt [38]

Once Vādirāja visited Mathura and Gujarat. At the former place he composed a work called '*Madhvāṣṭaka*' while carrying a fasting penance for six months to propitiate Śrīkṛṣṇa. Regular *pārāyaṇa* and also recitation of *Madhvāṣṭaka* relieved miraculously the long standing illness of a Yogi called Srikrisnayati, who defied all treatment before. He became an ardent desciple of Vādirāja. Even during the trip in Gujarat Vādirāja's profound scholarship and piety impressed the people there where he has many followers even today. During this journey in Gujarat he could secure the famous *Hayagrivasālagrāma* at Dwāraka.[39]

Vādirāja gave detailed instructions to his disciples regarding the *Bṛndāvan*, a constuction made with *tulasi* plant on the burial of some Hindu monks to be constructed after his death. He instructed a person called Narasappa Nayaka who used to spend most of his time in Sode during his last days about the design of the *Bṛndāvan* for him. But Narasappa Nāyaka died in 1598 A.D. and his successor Ramachandra Nayaka, who was also a great devotee of Vādirāja, carried out all the instructions about the *Bṛndāvan* with great reverence. In the plan of the Bṛndavan appropriate places were alloted to various incarnations of *Viṣṇu* starting with *Kūrma, Varāha* etc. The place alloted to Vādirāja's beloved deity *Hayagrīva* was just in front of the *Mūla Bṛndāvan* where Vādirāja was supposed to be burried. Such was the association of the Lord *Hayagrīva* with Vādiraja even after his death.[40]

Rāghavendra Swāmi of Mantrālaya

Śrī Rāghavendra of Mantrālaya is also associated with the deity Hayagrīva. Śrī Rāghavendra[41] at the age of 70 years was staying in a small village called Mañchāla on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadrā*. As suggested by his Guru the Diwan Venkanna got a fine Bṛndavan made out of a stone lying near Mādhavara, five miles away from Mañchāla on which the Lord *Śrirāma* is said to have taken rest for some minutes. One of the popular legends says this sacred stone on which *Rāma* rested for a while would be worshipped for 700 years. This is the only reason for selecting this particular stone for *Bṛndāvan* by the Swamiji rejecting the artistic and finely finished *Bṛndāvan* got ready by Venkanna for his beloved Guruji.

The news that Śrī Rāghavendra would enter the *Bṛndāvan* within a short period spread for and wide. Venkanna Pant had made excellent arrangements for the auspicious and sacred ceremony of his guru's entrance into *samādhi*. Numerous devotees and disciples assembled at the small village to grace the occasion and to have the last Darśan of the guruji. All formalities were observed by the priests and the learned men of the Saṁsthan. Śrī Rāghavendra handed over the charge of the Mutt to one of his deserving disciples calling him by the name

"Yogendra". The Guruji entered *Bṛndāvan* alive in August 1671; *(Śri Virodhikṛt Śrāvaṇa bahula Vidiya).*

Appannāchārya, the most affectionate disciple of Śrī Rāghavendra and an erudite scholar and a poet, was not present at Mañchāla when his Guruji entered Bṛndāvan. He was in the village Bicchale on other duty and when the news of the Guru's entrance into Bṛndavan reached him it was a shock to him which he could not bear or believe. He was helpless.

Longing to have the Darśan of his great and beloved Guru, hurriedly he walked his way to the *Mantrālaya* composing stanzas extempore and proclaiming the greatness and kindness of Śrī Rāghavendra. The stanzas of prayer describe in detail Śrī Rāghavendra, his actions, his superhuman powers and his ability to fulfil the diverse desires of his disciples and devotees.

By the time Appannāchārya reached the Mutt he found the *Brndāvan* of the Guru closed and was disappointed in his aspiration to have the last Darshan of the Guru. He could not bear the separation. The prayer song also was nearing completion. He stood with his looks fixed at the *Bṛndāvan* and slowly tears flowed down his cheeks. The Guru who had known the state of mind of his beloved disciple responded from the Bṛndāvan and uttered the following words :

"*Sākṣi Hayāsyotrahi*" [42]

It means that the God *Hayavadana* whom he was praying at that time inside of his mind would be the witness for all that has been said in the prayer song composed by Appannāchārya. With these words of blessings the prayer song was completed by the Guru and it was of some solace to Appannāchārya. Even today the prayer song is recited by all the devotees of the Great Guru every day.

Chapter V : REFERENCES

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2. ibid. p. 456

3. The *Tiruvāymoḷi* (2-8-5), Vol. I Madras, p. 24, v. 5.

4. The *Periyatirumoḷi*, Commentary by P.B. Annaṅgaracharya, Kanchipuram 1971, VII. 8.2. p. 165.

5. ibid. V. 3.2. p. 15.

6. *majjanmanaḥ phalam idam madhukaiṭabhāreḥ |*
   mat prārthanīya mad, anugraha eṣa eva |
   kṣīrasāgarataraṅgaśīkarāsāra tārakita cārumūrtaye |
   bhoga bhogi śayanīyaśāyine mādhavāya madhu vidiviṣe namaḥ ||

7. In the beginning of the *stotraratna*, Yāmunācārya writes :-
   tasmai namo madhujidanghri saroja tattva |
   jñānānurāga mahimātiśayānta sīmne ||

8. The *yatīndravaibhava*, Nadigaddavaripalem (A.P.)
   yad bhāṣyam āvṛtya nidhāya mūrdhni
   śrībhāṣyam etat varabhāṣyakṛtam
   iti ca tasmai pradade ca devī
   bhāṣyam hayagrīvam api svakīyam
   gṛhṇān hayagrīvam api praṇamya
   kulāgatam tam Varadam ca nityam
   ārādhyam anyamatāni jitvā
   śrīveṅkaṭādrim punar āsasāda.

9. Muvvāyirappadi's *Guruparamparāprabhāvam*, ed. Komanduru Ananthacharya, Sri Vanibhushanam Press, Triplicane, Madras 1913.

10. ibid. p. 97 and Cf., Nathamuni Ayyangar, *Hayagrīva avatāra tattvaprakāśa, Viśiṣṭhādvaita Sabhā*, Bangalore 1968, pp. 77-78.

11. *bhāṣyam yasya niśamya lakṣmaṇamuneḥ kautūhalād bhāratī |*
    sūtrāṇām idam Uttamam Vivaraṇam niscityamānānugam ||
    Vāgīśasya nijapriyāya nikhilān vedān pradātuśśubham |
    mūrtim svena sadarcitām samadactadhyasmai sajīyānmuniḥ ||

12. Āndhrapūrṇa, *Rāmanujāṣṭhottara śatanāmastotra*, ed. by P.B. Annaṅgarācharya, Kanchipuram 1942, p. 74, vv. 18 to 20.
    bhāṣādattahayagrīvaḥ bhāṣyakāro mahāyaśāḥ |
    pavitrīkṛtabhūbhāgaḥ kūrmanātha prakāśakaḥ || (v. 19)

13. Dvitīya Brahmatantraswami, *Śrīmad Vedāntadeśika divyacaritam*, translated by Vidvan Yamunacharya, Freedom Press, Madras 1970.

14. ibid. p. 39.

15. N. Deśikacharya, The Origin and growth of the Parakala Mutt, The Bangalore Press, Bangalore 1949.

16. ibid. p. 62 (the sannad dated 2-1-1817)

17. ibid. p. 65 (dated on 21-1-1819)

18. ibid. pp. 67–68 (1830 A.D.)

19. ibid.

20. ibid. p. 66 (1819 A.D.)

21. ibid. p. 88 (dated on 11-4-1848)

22. ibid. p. 82 (dated on 2-12-1815)

23. ibid. p. 78 (dated on 17-7-1839)

24. ibid. p. 307 (dated on 1-6-1927)

25. ibid. p. 93 (dated on 1-12-1850)

26. ibid. p. 95 (dated on 9-1-1851)

27. ibid. pp. 205–207 (dated on 15-10-1925)

28. ibid. p. 314 (dated on 13-12-1927)

29. ibid. p. 328 (dated on 16-12-1929)

30. ibid. p. 315 (dated 10-12-1930)

31. Madhvācharya, *Tantrasāra*, Belgum edition 1891, Ch. 4 v. 54:
Vande turaṅgavadanam śaśibimba saṃsthām |
candrāvadātamamṛtātmakaraiḥ samantāt ||
aṇḍāntaram bahirapi pratibhāsamantam |
śaṇkākṣapustaka subodhayutābjabāhum ||

32. *hām hayaśirase namaḥ hām hayagrīvāya namaḥ |*
hām hayaśīrṣāya namaḥ hām hayaśīrṣe namaḥ ||
sarvae vidyāpradeṣṭhārṇaḥ prativādī jayapradaḥ |
vimuktisādhanaḥ kāntibuddhi sthairyapradaḥ sadā ||

33. Ānandatīrtha, *Mabābhāratatātparyanirṇaya*, Ch. I to X, translated by B. Gururaja Rao. Bangalore 1941.
tvadājñayā brahmavarād avadhan cikrīḍiṣā sambhavayā mukhodgatān |
svayambhuvo vedagaṇānaharṣatām tadā' bhavasthvam hayaśīrṣa īśvaraḥ||
(The *Mahābhāratatātparyanirṇaya* Ch. III, v. 62).

34. Vadīrāja's *Svapnabṛndāvanākhyāna*, Sode, Vādirāja Mutt, Karnataka State.

35. C.R. Rao, *Śrī Vādirāja Tīrtha* (A brief outline of his life, work and message), Basavangudi, Bangalore 1978. Ch. II, p. 15ff.

36. ibid.

37. idid.

38. ibid. Ch. VII, p. 51ff.

39. ibid. Ch. III, p. 25ff.

40. ibid. Ch. X, p. 60ff.

41. J.H.B. Acharya, The Lord of Mantrālaya, Bangalore 1974, p. 49.

42. ibid. p. 53ff.

Chapter VI

Patterns of Worship

1. Introduction :

In the preceeding chapters, we have covered the origin and development of the *Hayagrīva*-cult in the Vedic and the Post-Vedic literature and the plastic representation of the *Hayagriva*-image in different regions of India belonging to different periods. In the following lines, worship of the *Hayagrīva*-deity will be discussed.

Worship generally may be of two kinds : *amūrta* (without form or image) and *samūrta* (with form or image). In the early Vedic period, the method of worship was mainly in the form of offering oblations *(havis)* through the medium of fire to the gods concerned. Later the image-worship was developed keeping the *amūrta* form of worship as a base. This tendency had been much developed in the post vedic *sūtra* literature and crystalized in the *āgama* texts.

Worship of the deity may also be classified in two kinds – external *(bāhyapūjā)* and internal *(antaraṅgapūjā)*.

The external form of worship *(bāhyapūjā)* needs an image of the deity to which the worshipper offers various services. The elements and their number in the external worship vary from situation to situation. The number of services *(upacāra)* in the process of worship may be five (*Pañcopacāra)*, sixteen *(ṣoḍaśopacāra)*, twenty five *(pañcaviṁśatyopacāra)*, thirty six *(Ṣaṭtriṁśadupacāra)*.

Sometimes one may categorize the worship of *yantra*, *sālagrāma* etc. as the external form of worship because they stand as external basis for worship. Particularly the *yantra*-worship may also come under the internal form of worship because the meditative aspects of mantra formula is closely connected with *yantra*.

The internal worship may be of two kinds – (i) worship with a symbol or a base *(sādhārapūjā)* and (ii) worship without a symbol or a base *(nirādhārapūjā)*. In the *sādhārapūjā*, the worshipper may take *Śrīcakra* or any other *yantra* of a particular deity as a base by imagining that object as the deity itself. In the *nirādhārapūjā* that base is also absent. Only the holy syllables are adopted where *japa, dhyāna* and other techniques of internal worship with the *mantra* of the presiding deity become prominent. Concentration, Contemplation and Meditation play predominent role here. At this juncture, the aspirant elevates his mind to a higher level of consciousness of realization of the essence of the presiding deity transcending from the stage of a repetition *(japa)* of a holy syllable *(mantra)* which stands as a symbol for the deity.

In the process of worship whether it is of an image or of an *yantra* there contains an element of bringing harmony between the internal and external as well as the worshipper and the worshipped In the worship of an image, the worshipper elevates his consciousness by different forms of services *(Upacāra)* offered to the deity just as a glorious emperor is served with all paraphernalia and insignia. One of the *Vaiṣṇava āgama* texts puts it that deity is served as if he were the king *(rājavad upacarya)*. Though all the services whether they look like royal or they look like services offered to an honoured guest, the intrinsic spirit is that the worshipper will have a direct personal contact and dialogue with the worshipped. In the worship through a magical diagram called *yantra*, the process of worship is much closer to the internal progress of reaching higher levels of consciousness which link and identify the worshipper more and more with worshipped. The *yantra* – figures are always connected with *mantra* formulae. In the vast number of *mantras* specific seed syllables *(bījamantra)* are connected with the specific presiding deities. Any seed syllable may be expanded with an addition of further *mantras* mantric syllables, prefixed or suffixed. The connection of the with the *yantra* makes the process of worship more internal, although the *yantra* acts as an external object of worship. Particularly the *mantra*, its repetition and resulting stage of meditation are prone to be having an association with the internal mental 'set-up' otherwise known as '*antaḥkarṇaa*' to make it fixed on one point without wavering. Sometimes the usual repetation of a *mantra* constitutes different processess of worship. If a particular worshipper wants to realize the deity, represented by the *mantra*, associated with that deity, he has to put in further effort, which results in the process called *puraścaraṇa*. *Puraścaraṇa* is a process through which '*mantrasiddhi*' is obtained according to the tenets of the *mantra-śāstra*

Even in the image-worship, there is a method of *mānasi-pūjā* before the worship, offered to the image proper. In this method, all the services could be made by means of *mantra*-formulae on mental plane. The mantric power is used in the case of the ceremony of installation of Vital powers (*Prāṇa-prātiṣṭhā)* to infuse the image with life. This is a travel from the conception of the god within to the god without. The god is pure consciousness, full of life and energy. This pure consciousness is aroused by the worshipper through the *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* of the image of god to make it fit for worship.

Different forms of worship relating to Hayagrīva are in vogue. Images, *Yantras* and *sālagrāmas* of *Hayagriva* exist as objects of worship. Varieties of *mantras* of the deity are also found in various sources. Now we examine different aspects of the *Hayagrīva*-worship one after another. At present we take up the image worship of *Hayagrīva*, together with the different steps in serving the god. The following services offered to the Lord *Hayagrīva* constitute the part of *Hayagrīvakalpa*.

2. SERVICES TO THE *HAYAGRĪVA*-IMAGE:

a) *Preliminary acts*

In the process of the worship of Hayagrīva, as a preliminary requisite to the repetition of *Hayagrīva-mantra* or the worship of *Hayagrīva* – image, there are different steps which have to be followed in a particular sequence.

Firstly the aspirant of the worshipper starts his *Anuṣṭhāna-kalpa* with the sipping of water (*ācamana*): The method of *āchamana* is accompanied by the utterance or recitation which ends with the verb *prīṇātu*. In usual way the *ācamanavidhi* includes the following utterances *Ṛgvedaḥ Prīṇātu* etc. (all four vedas), *Itihāsaveda Prīṇātu* (here a mention is made regarding *Itihāsaveda* or Ancient Legendry History), *Candramā Priṇatu* etc. (Various Gods such as *candra*, *Maheśvara*, *Āditya*, *Somā* are mentioned), *Diśaḥ priṇāntu* (directions and Gods in charge of different directions like *Vāyu*, *Indra* *Viṣṇu*, *Agni* etc. are mentioned).

Ācamana[1] as a starting point of each religious activity has its connection with the water-myth[3] in the sphere of religion. Water is a purifying agent. Its function is not only to purify the physical body outside of a being but also it purifies inner mechanism. The sipping of water accompanied by various utterances devoting Vedas, different Gods, various deities in-charge of different directions has a special significance. Here the aspirant takes water for purifying his inner Being.

After this act of inner purification, which has also a hygenic aspect of its function inside, the worshipper proceeds to the act of purification of his body in different forms.

Philosophically it is not mere physical body *(Sthūladeha)* that takes here primary importance. We have also the subtle body *(sūkṣmadeha)*, casual body *(Kāraṇadeha)*, unmanifested body *(Avyākṛta deha)*. So the following utterances with the mystical syilabales *(bījākṣara)* the purification of all these forms of body is aimed at. The *mantras* uttered for this purpose are the following :

Oṁ śrīṁ hsauṁ ātmane sthūladehaṁ śodhayāmi svāhā
Oṁ śrīṁ hsauṁ Vidyātattvātmane mama sūkṣmadeham śodhyāmī svāhā
Oṁ śrīṁ hsaum mama Kāraṇadeham śodhayāmi svāhā
Oṁ śrīṁ hsaum mama avyākṛtadeham śodhayāmi svāhā

Since early times the yogic practices played an important role in the sphere of Indian spirituality. Particularly the breath control *(Prāṇāyāma)* as a part of *bahiraṅgasādhana* of Patañjali's *yogasūtra (yama, niyama, āsana prāṇāyāma* and *Pratyāhāra* contrast to *antaraṅgasādhana dhyānadhāraṇa* and *samādhi*) became a constituent part of the *anuṣṭhānakalpa* or the process of worship of the deity or ritualistic action or daily duty (*nityavidhi)* like *sandhyāvandana* etc. Breath control *(Prāṇāyāma)* with the elements of inhaling *(pūraka)* keeping the breath inside for a while (*kumbhaka)* and exhaling it *(Recaka*) is accompanied by the utterance *Oṁ bhūrbhuvassuvarom mama upāttaduritakṣayadvāra śrī lakṣmīhayagrīva prasādena janmatāraka siddhyartham śrī hayagrīvaikākṣarī brahmavidyā mahāmantrajapaṁ karīṣye tadaṅga gurudhyāna pūrvaka daṇḍakādi pūrvaṅga pārāyaṇam kariṣye,*

The above act serves as a preliminary function to the recitation of *Pūrvāṅga daṇḍaka, kavaca mālā-mantra, pañjara* and *stotra* The detailed discussions regarding the *pūrvāṅga* and *uttarāṅga* aspects of these recitations are dealt with in the next chapter.

Aṅganyāsa and *Karanyāsa*

In the *Hayagrīvānuṣṭhānakalpa*, as in the case of the worship of other deities, apportioning different parts to the different deities by touching different parts of the body *(aṅganyāsa)* and touching the fingeres each other *(karanyāsa)* have their due place. The *aṇganyāsas* are connected with the various *mantras*. For example, if Brahmā is said to be the seer *(ṛṣi)*, uttering "*Brahmārṣiḥ*" the worshipper has to touch his head. The following are the details of this *aṅganyāsa : ṛṣi Brahmā...* head *(Śiras); chandas-Gāyatrī* – face *(mukha) Devatā* – *Śri Lakṣmi-Hayagrīva* – Heart *(hṛdaya); bījaṁ-Om-śrīm hsaum* - naval *(nābhi)*, *Śakti-sohaṁ* – secret parts *(Guhya*), *kīlakaṁ hsūṁ* Feet *(Pāda)*. Lastly the purpose for which the repetition of *Hayagrīva mantra* japa to be undertaken is expressed in the following manner.

> *śrī lakṣmī hayagrīva prasāda siddhyarthe janmatāraka siddhyarthe ca jape viniyogaḥ*

Here the grace of the deity and the fulfillment of the birth of the aspirant are sought for.

After that we have *karanyāsa* or the touching of fingers each other in the following sequence. For touching of each finger the mystical syllables *Oṁ śrīm hsauṁ* is prefixed. For example, in the case of thumb *(Aṅguṣṭha)* the following utterance is made: *Oṁ śrīm hsauṁ aṅguṣṭhābhyāṁ namaḥ.* In the same fashion connected with other fingers like *tarjanī* (demonstrative finger) *madhyamā* (middle), *Anāmikā* (ring finger) and *kaniṣṭhikā* (little finger) similar expressions are made. In the end, with the utterance *Oṁ śrīm hsauṁ karatala karapṛṣṭhābhyāṁ namaḥ* the process of karanyāsa is concluded. This last act of *karanyāsa*, is the touching of both the palms and their back side each another.

Hṛdayādinyāsa

Then comes *Hṛdayādinyāsa* or the touching with the hand heart etc. with the same mystical syllables *Oṁ Śrīm hsaum* as prefix as mentioned above, different parts of the body are touched with the hand ……………………Heart, Head, Śikha, Kavaca, *Netratraya*, Sahasrāra.

Oṁ śrim hsauṁ *hṛdayāyanamaḥ*
,, *śirase svāhā*
,, *śikhāyai Vaṣaṭ*
,, *kavacāya huṁ*
,, *netratrayāya vauṣaṭ*
,, *astrāya phat*
,, *bhurbhuvassuvaromiti sahasrāra huṁ phaṭ*

Digbandha and Digvomoka

To avoid different kinds of obstacles from different directions the method of *digbandha* is adopted. After completion of the necessary acts and recitations, in the end, *Diṅvimoka* is performed with proper utterances.

In this religious activity the worshipper uses a particular mystical syllable in the beginning and try to block every direction from attack and distraction. For example: *laṁ Indradiśaṁ cakreṇa badhnāmi namaḥ cakrāya svāhā.* In the same fashion other directions are also blocked with the disc (cakra) to overcome difficulties and obstacles from all sides.

Dhyāna

Then comes dhyāna, the recitation of the verses praising the deity. *jñānānanda mayaṁ devaṁ* etc.

lakṣmīdhyāna

According to the *Vaiṣṇava* tradition Lakṣmī plays an important role. So here *Hayagrīvadhyāna* is followed by *Lakṣmidhyāna.*

mānasapūjā

Afterwards the worship is made on mental plane which is called *mānasapūjā*. At this stage certain services to the deity *(upacāra)* with sandal paste *(gandha)* flowers *(puṣpa)* inscense *(dhūpa)* light *(dīpa)* and offering of nector or ambrosia *(amṛtanaivedya)* and offering of sandle paste or inscense or other objects are made on mental level.

Prāṇapratiṣṭha

After inviting the presiding deity of worship with some utterances, the deity is installed by the worshipper with vital powers *(Prāṇapratiṣṭhā)*. Here lies the fundamental philosophy of worshipping a god who is of full of dynamic life-activity. So the aspirant never considers the image of his deity lifeless which is a product of some material. Further the worshipper never tries to see there an image that is made of stone, wood, gold, silver and copper. But he sees in the image something sublime, something ultimate, some thing absolute. If that feeling does not exist in the worshipper, the very purpose of the method of image-worship is defeated.

For the *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* of the deity, the utterance is the following: *śrī lakṣmī sametya śrī hayagrīva svāmine namaḥ prāṇa pratiṣṭhāpana mūhūrtaḥ sumūhūrtostu sarvāṇyaṅgāni yathāsthāṁ tiṣṭhāntu sarve prāṇāḥ yathāsthāne tiṣṭhantu māṁ rakṣantu.* After installing the deity with vital powers, the *dhyāna ślokas* are reciated again.

Āvāhana, āsana etc.

After this *dhyāna* the deity is invited, *(āvāhana)*. Then he is offered a throne studded with nine precious jewels *(nava-*

ratnasimhāsanā) Then the seat *(pīṭha)* on which the deity is installed is worshipped which is technically called *pīṭhārcanā*. The *pīṭhārcanā* includes different salutations which have specific significance. For example, Oṁ *anantāsanāya namaḥ*, Oṁ *kūrmāsanāya namaḥ* etc. we come across the names of animals and places etc. where the Lord Viṣṇu appears. We can illustrate the following examples in this case. Divine serpent śeṣa *(Ananta)* seat of Tortoise *(kūrmāsana)* Milk ocean *(kṣirābdhi)* white island *(śvetadvipa)* the wish fulfilling tree (The *Kalpavṛkṣa*), platform which is in the centre of the wish-fulfilling trees *(kalpavṛkṣāṇāṁ madhye sphaṭika maṇḍapa)* the seat of knowledge *(jñānapīṭha)* the seat of renunciation *(vairāgyapīṭha)*, the seat of ability *(sāmarthyapīṭha)* the seat of riches *(aiśvaryapīṭha)*.

In the end it is stated : "*Oṁ śrīṁ hsauṃ śrī lakṣmī hayagrivāya namaḥ, navaratnasiṁhāsanaṁ samarpayāmi*". After installing the deity on this throne of nine jewels *Hayagriva* is praised with the *dhyāna*.

Then the aspirant utters the following sentences : *mama hṛdayakamalāntarvartinaṃ dhyāyāmi, āvāhayāmi, navaratnasiṃhāsanam samarpayāmi. Āvāhitobhava, sthāpito bhava, sannihito bhava, mama iṣṭhakāmyarthasiddhido bhava*. The first sentence of these utterances gives us a clue how a deity of the aspirant's imaginary mental world would be brought to meterial plane. Then it is uttered : *mama janmatārakasiddhyarthaṃ saṁbhavaddhirupa* carcaiśca *puruṣasūkta śrīsūktavidhānena yāvacchakti dhyānāvāhanādi śrilakṣmihayagrīva ṣoḍaśopacārapūjāṁ kariṣye.*"

Kalaśa

As a part of *Pūja*, a jar (kalaśa) is installed and worshipped. *Kalaśa* is a small pot in which water with so many herbs are kept and it is decorated with the leaves of mango and also coconut on it. There is a *prāṇapratiṣṭhā* for *kalaśa* with the utterance of certain *mantras*. The water inside the *kalaśa* is thus purified. The same water is used for sprinkling *(saṁprokṣaṇa)*. The couch-shell *(śaṁkha)* is filled in with this sacred water for the above purpose.

Avāhana together with attendants

The deity is to be invited *(āvāhana)* with all his paraphernalia that is to say together with the companions, with army, with *Lakṣmī*, with *Garuḍa*, with *seers*. This *āvāhana* is the following : *āyātu bhagavan puruṣassagaṇai sasainyai sastrīsahāya sahadevatābhir anumanyatām.*

Rṣibhiśca anugamyamānas tamajam puṇḍarīkākṣam bhagavantaṁ Oṁ puruṣaṁ āvāhayāmi. Oṁ satyamāvāhayāmi. Oṁ acyutaṁ aniruddham āvāhayāmi. Oṁ hayagrīvaṁ āvāhayāmi. Oṁ sarvavaradam āvāhayāmi. Oṁ vidyādhīrājam āvāhayāmi paramahaṁsaṁ āvāhayāmi. Then the goddess Lakṣmī is invited.

At the outset, the deity was imagined and worshipped in subtle form. Then every bit of worship was on mental plane. At that level, one may say that it is an inward worship *(antaraṅga pūjā)*. If the aspirant gives a gross form to his deity and worships him in the form of an image he has to install there something vital and worship him later. This installation of something vital which transmits the mental to the material is important in the worship of an image *(bimba)*. *Āsanasamarpaṇa* and *āvāhana* are the next stages in the worship. All these stages of worship are intended for bringing the aspirant more closer and nearer to the deity.

The following utterance —

> "*svāmin sarvajagannātha yāvat pūjāvasānakam tāvat tvaṁ prītibhāvena bimbe asmīn sannidhiṁ kuru*" tells us that the deity is requested to be present in the image until the worship is completed. In the end one says: *śrīlakṣmī hayagrīvāya namaḥ Sannidhānamudrāṁ samarpayāmi.*

Saṅkalpa

Then the *saṅkalpa* is made as a part of the worship. This *saṅkalpa* is intended for performing the *pūja* with 16 services *(ṣoḍaśopacāra) evaṁguṇa viseṣaṇa viśiṣṭhāyāṁ subhatithau......... ....mama upāttaduritakṣayadvārā śri lakṣmīhayagrīva prasādasiddhyarthaṁ* ...

One interesting point we must discuss here how the image or the mystical diagram is filled up with the vital powers. The following are the specific utterances for that purpose: *Oṁ hrīṁ krom hsauṁ yaṃ raṃ vaṁ saṁ ṣaṁ hoṁ Om kṣam saṁ haṁsaḥ hrīm Oṁ haṁsaḥ hayagrīvo haṁsaḥ śrī hayagrīva bimbasya (yantrasya) prāṇāḥ iha prāṇāh śrī lakṣmi hayagrīva bimbasya (yantrasya) sarvendrīyāṇīha sthitāni. śrī lakṣmī hayagrīva bimbasya (yantrasya) ca tvak cakṣu srotro jihvā ghrāṇa prāṇā iha āgatya sukhaṁ ciraṁ tiṣṭhantu svāhā Oṁ ṣaṁ saṁ haṁsaḥ hrīṁ Oṁ haṁ saḥ hsauṁ kroṁ hīṁ āṁ* .. ...With these utterances, we understand, how an image or an *yantra* is filled up with vital powers and the sense organs etc., in an anthropomorphic way.

When an image is made thus fit for worship and is placed on a seat, a kind of welcome is addressed to the deity, encountering him. This is technically called – *svāgataṁ sammukhīkaraṇaṁ*. The welcome address to the deity is the following. *viśvādikanāṁ bhuvanādikartre dhātre tapoyajñassuvedamūrte, susvāgataṁ yatra tu tatra yasmāt tat te padaṁ sūribhiḥ svāgataṁ te. śrī lakṣmī hayagrīva devāya namaḥ. svāgatam samarpayāmi.*

The worshipper requests the deity to allow him to perform worship (*arcanā*). Here we specifically understand how he would have a dialouge as if he is conversing with a living being in front of him So the worshipper asks the worshipped to permit him for the worship. The utterances for this request are the following: *manobhīmantā mānavassudharmā yanmātaraṁ pitaro mānaseṣu amoghamoghaṁ prativeda vedasvakaṁ janānāṁ anumanyatām idaṁ śrī lakṣmī hayagrīvadeva arcanārthaṁ prasīda.*

The essence of this utterence "Oh God! Srī Lakṣmī Hayagrīva! Bestow grace on me for worshipping properly".

(b) *Ṣoḍaśopacārapūjā of Hayagrīva*

Pādya: Water for washing the feet of the deity (*pādya*) is offered. This is the first of the sixteen services to the deity. *etāvānasya........amṛtaṁ divi. Oṁ sārasvato va eṣa......aśvasyapūrvāṁ rathamadhyāṁ śrīlakṣmī hayagrīva devāya namaḥ pādayoḥ padyaṁ samarpayāmī.*

Arghya : For washing the hands *(arghya)*, water is offered to the deity : *tiṣṭhatūrdhva*..... *anasane abhi – Oṁ sārasvato va eṣa* ......*śri lakṣmī hyaygriva devāya namaḥ hastayoḥ arghyaṁ samarpayāmī.*

Ācamana : The water is offered to the deity for sipping through the mouth (ācamana) with following utterance *tasmāt virāḍa..... matho puraḥ. Oṁ sārasvato vā......candrāṁ prabhāsāṁ. śri lakṣmi hayagriva devāya namaḥ mukhe ācamaniyaṁ samarpayāmi.*

Snāna : (i) *Pañcāmṛtasnāna :* The deity is bathed in a mixture of five kinds of nectors which practice is technically called "*pañcāmṛtasnāna*". *Pañcāmṛta* is made of milk, curds (yugort), ghee, honey and sugar. For each ingredient of mixture there is one specific *mantra.*

(ii) *Uṣṇodakasnāna :* Appropriately the next sequence in the method of worship to clean up the body of the deity is to bath him with hot water *(Uṣṇodakasnāna).*

(iii) *Suddhodakasnāna :* Next the deity is bathed with pure water *(suddhodaka).*

Vastra kirīṭādi samarpaṇa : When the deity is perfectly cleaned with baths with *pañcāmṛta*, hot-water and pure water he is decorated with the crown *(kirīṭa)*, the necklace *(hāra)*, ornaments on shoulders *(keyūra)*, conch-shell *(śaṁkha)*, discus *(cakra)*, gesture of knowledge *(cinmudrā)* book *(pustaka)* clothes *(vastra)* and ornaments *(ābharaṇa).*

Yajñopavīta : Again here *pādya*, *ācamana* are offered before the next stage of worship in which the worshipper offers sacred thread *(yajnopavīta)* to the deity. It is customary to practise the methods of cleaning hands *(Pādya)*, cleaning one's feet *(arghya)*, and sipping the water *(ācamana)* before wearing the *yajñopavīta.* So these two acts come in between again.

Gandha Next is the offering of sandal paste *(gandha)* to the deity.

Akṣata: Afterwards the deity is worshipped with *akṣatas. Akṣatas* are the rice made yellow by mixing them with turmeric powder *(haridrācūrṇa).*

Puṣpa: Afterwards the flowers *(puṣpa)* are offered.

Then various names addressed to the deity in the form of *Aṣṭottaraśatanāma* (108) or *sahasranāma* (1000) are used for the worship with the flowers or *Akṣatas.* This kind of worship is common to all deities, worshipped in different sects. Particularly mention has to be made that even in Buddhism *Buddhasahasranāma* exists according the sphere of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The specific feature of *Hayagriva-names* is that each name should be prefixed by the *Hayagriva* mystical syllable with the sacred syllable referring to *Lakṣmī* and the general holy syllable *Oṁ*. So a name that is addressed to *Hayagrīva* with salutation would be like this: *Oṁ śrīṁ hasuṁ sarva-vāgīśāyanamaḥ.* In the end of this *Aṣṭottara* or *Sahasranāmapūjā*, it is said in the following way: *śrī lakṣmī hayagrīvāya namaḥ nānāvidha parimala puṣpaiḥ pūjayāmi.*

Dhūpa: The next offering to the deity is inscence *(dhūpa)* where the smoke-producing fragrant materials are used.

Dīpa: Next comes the offering of the light *(dīpa).*

Then again the *Pādya.* In this context one can understand this offering of water to wash the hands *(Pādya)* and then to wash the feet *(arghya)* as a preliminary to the offering of food to the deity *(naivedya).*

Naivedya: The *naivedya* is offered to the deity.

It is customary to recite *prāṇāhuti mantras* when the food is taken. The ritualstic practice '*prāṇāhuti*' before taking food is also applied to the deity through the utterance by the worshipper with the mantra:

candramā vāyurajāyata........
Oṁ sārasvato vā
ārdrām........śrī lakṣmī hayagrīvāyanamaḥ
amṛtanaivedyam samarpayāmi......Oṁ prāṇāya svāhā.....

Pāniya: The next interesting sequence of worship with an anthropomorphic element is to offer drinking water (Pānīya) in course of eating of the food by the deity.

After finishing the food the religious act is '*uttarāposana*'. This is also done by the worshipper in the case deity. The cleaning of hands and legs after taking food by the deity is also performed. After completion of this *ācamana* is offered.

Tāmbūla : The betel leaves and nuts (tāmbūla) are offered to the deity.

Nirājana : Next offering is Nīrājana, an offering of light.

Again *ācamana* before offering *mantrapuṣpa* with the *mantra* :

Oṁ dhāta purasthāt.........ayanāya vidyate |
Oṁ sārasvato vā...........
sahasraśirṣam devam.........| hiriṇyavarṅāṁ |
............ānandaḥ kardamaḥ |
saiva ciplita iti viśrutaḥ | putrā svayam
śrīdevi devatā śrī lakṣmī hayagriva namaḥ
suvarṇa divya mantrapuṣpaṁ samarpayāmi

Chatra and Cāmara : The umbrella (chatra) to give shade to the deity is offered.

tvaṁ māṁ bhajasva padmākṣi yena saukhyaṁ labhāmyaham
śrī lakṣmī hayagrīvāya namaḥ chatram samarpayāmi

Hence we have clear evidence here how the deity is honoured and to be served as an emperor by the worshipper. The umbrella (*chatra*) is one of the royal insignia.

Cāmara : The deity is also fanned with the fly-wisk (cāmara).

Ādarśa: The next act by the worshipper is to show the mirror (*ādarśa*) to the deity.

devasya trā………hastabhuyāṁ
Oṁ sārasvato vā………
Padmapriye padmini padmahaste padmālaye
padmadalāyatākṣi | viśvapriye viśvamanonukūle
tvatpāda padmaṁ mayi sannidhasva || śrīlakṣmī hayagrīva
devāya namaḥ adarśam darśayāmi

After these services for the entertainment of the deity Vedas are recited and dance is shown to him: *ṛgvedādi veda purāṇādin śrāvayet nṛttaṁ darśayet.*

Prapatti: Then the worshipper stands before the Lord and surrenders himself to Him *(prapatti)*. *Prapatti*, a kind of complete surrendering to the God with an element of devotional emotion.

Śaraṇāgati: The devotee also requests the deity to protect him from the series of births resulting from his own *karma*. He feels that *karma* would be destroyed by taking refuge at the lotus feet of God. He also thinks that he is the servant of the Lord of the Universe and prays him that he should never be born again and be relieved from the ocean of *saṁsāra*. In the concluding lines we find the spirit of *śaraṇāgati* where the devotee offers everything that belongs to him, all burdens relating to his wife, children, health etc. and asks to protect him.

Kṣamāpana: The devotee has done worship and offered all kinds of services to him. He might have committed certain errors in the process of worship. For those errors he begs pardon *(kṣamāpaṇa)* from the God.

Sāṣṭhāṅga-namaskāra: After *kṣamāpaṇa*, the worshipper prostrates before the deity while touching all his eight limbs which should come into contact with the earth. *(sāṣṭāṅganamaskāra)*

urasā śirasā dṛṣṭyā manasā vacasā tathā |
Padbhyāṁ karābhyāṁ karṇābhyāṁ praṇāmo ṣṭaṅga ucyate||

Dhārādatta or sāttvikatyāga: At the end, the worshipper does not keep for himself all the merit which is an outcome of the worship of the deity. Because he believes that there is nothing beyond god even including himself, he gives away all the merit to the worshipped. This is called *dhārādatta.* It is done with the utterances. This is otherwise known as *sāttvika-tyāga*, according to the *Vaiṣṇava* tradition. It is done with the utterances: *anayā dhyānāvāhanādi soḍaśa pūjayā bhagavān śrī lakṣmī hayagrīva deva rūpī suprito suprasanno varado bhavatu etatsarvam śrī lakṣmī hayagrīvārpaṇam astu.*

3. *SĀLAGRĀMA*

A *sālagrāma*[3] is a flintified ammonite shell which is river-born and thus rounded and well-polished. The tributory river of Ganges named Gandaki is well known as the source of *Sālagrāmas.* A *Sālagrāma* has a hole through which are visible interior spiral grooves similar to the discus *(cakra)* of *Viṣṇu.* It is believed that *Sālagrāmas* are, in fact, the naturally produced representations of the *cakra* of *Viṣṇu.* As a consequence, these shells are respected and worshipped as representatives of *Viṣṇu.*

There are treatises on the subject of the examination and evaluation of *Sālagrāma.* The number as well as the disposition of the spirals visible through the holes is made as a basis of determining which of the many incarnations of *Viṣṇu*, represented in a given specimen of *Sālagrāma.* An auspicious *sālagrāma* has the following features. It is one which has a *cakra*, which resembles a *nāga*, reposing on a spiral; the spirals of the *cakra* in the *Sālagrāma* should have in them delicate traceries running across them. The *Sālagrāmas* of the size of a myrobalan *(āmalaka)* or similar fruits are said to be efficacious. They may be of the following colours: brownish black, green, red, blue, dark brown, jet black, yellow or multi-coloured. We have varieties of *Sālagrāmas* representing different forms of *Viṣṇu* such as *Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Damodara*' *Aniruddha, Nārāyaṇa, Śridhara* etc., in which *Hayagriva-Sālagrāma* also has a due place. Different *Sālagrāmas* of different colours and features have different effects on the worshippers. Fine spiraled ones grant all desires to the worshipper. The black ones give fame. The white ones destroy sin and yellow ones confer sons. *Sālagrāmas* of blue and other colours grant peace and wealth whereas red ones bestow enjoyment. Even pieces of the auspicious *Sālagrāmas* may be worshipped. The worship of the following specimens, which bring misery to the worshipper must be avoided: badly mutilated and rough-surfaced ones; those having a large number of holes or pits or scarred ones, those having too many spirals or having only one loop in the spirals, big-mouthed or large-spiralled ones, down looking and burnt ones, very red ones, ill-looking ones and those with a number of cakras.

Purānic stories are narrated to glorify the *Sālagrāma* stones. The origin of the word *Sālagrāma* and a piligrim centre named *Sālagrāma* is depicted in the Varāhapurāṇa, but it has no direct bearing on the Sālagrāmas and their source-river *Gaṇḍakī.* Especially in another instance, the legend directly connected with the *Gaṇḍakī* river is found. *Gaṇḍakī* did penance for a long period to please *Viṣṇu.* Finally Lord *Viṣṇu* became satisfied with her austerities and appeared before her. He asked her to choose a boon. *Gaṇḍakī* desired that *Viṣṇu* should be born from her womb. Lord *Viṣṇu* being highly pleased with *Gaṇḍakī* said that he would enter into her womb in the form of a *Sālagrāma* stone which showers grace on devotees.

As a part of temple-worship as well as household worship, we come across *Sālagrāmas* very often in the *Vaiṣṇava* tradition. They are worshipped not only by the *Vaiṣṇavas* but also by *smārtas. Tīrtha* or the holy water which is distributed among the devotees is supposed to be water made holy by the bathing of the *Sālagrāmas.*[4] A well-known verse that is uttered in distributing the tīrtha is as follows :

> "*sālagrāmaśilāvārī pāpahārī viśeṣataḥ |*
> *ājanmakṛtapāpānām prāyaścittam dine dine ||*

Hayagrīva–Sālagrāma :

We have references regarding *Sālagrāmas* in many texts. The *purāṇas* and the other later texts offer us the descriptions of *Hayagrīvasālagrāmas.* The text *Vīramitrodaya*[5] also provides us with the information regarding different forms of *Hayagrīva-sālagrāma* from the Purāṇic sources.

HAYAGRĪVA SĀLAGRĀMA

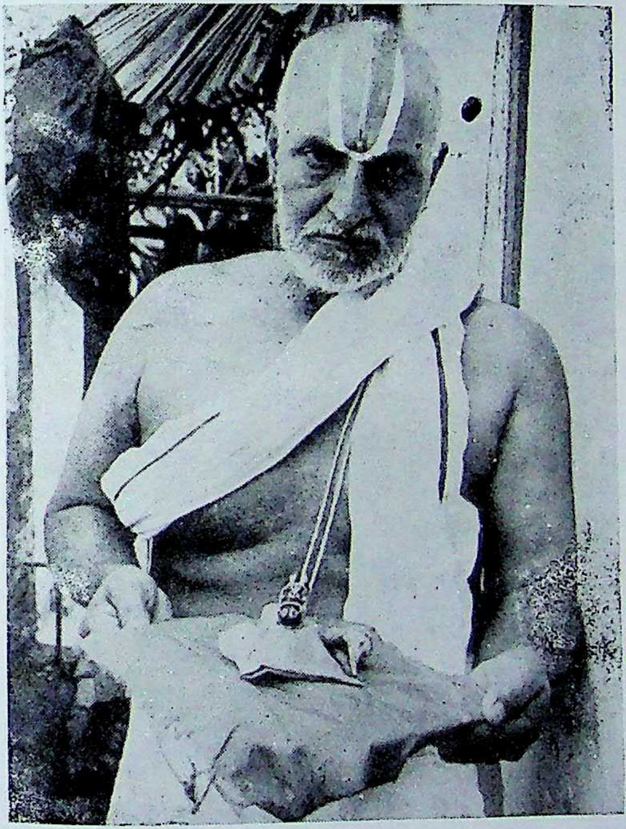


Fig. i: Hayagrīva Sālagrāma in the hands of Sriman V.A Padmanabhacharyulu

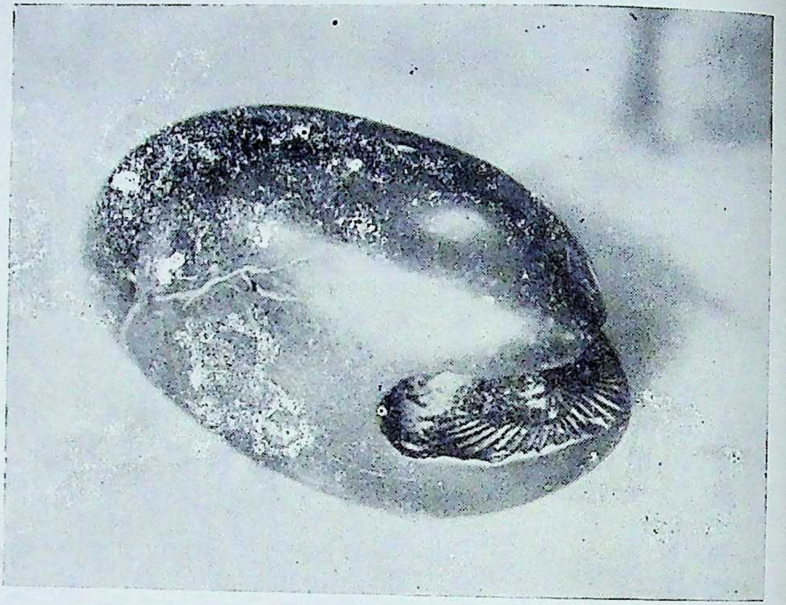


Fig. ii : Hayagrīva Sālagrāma possessing the features of horse without any decoration

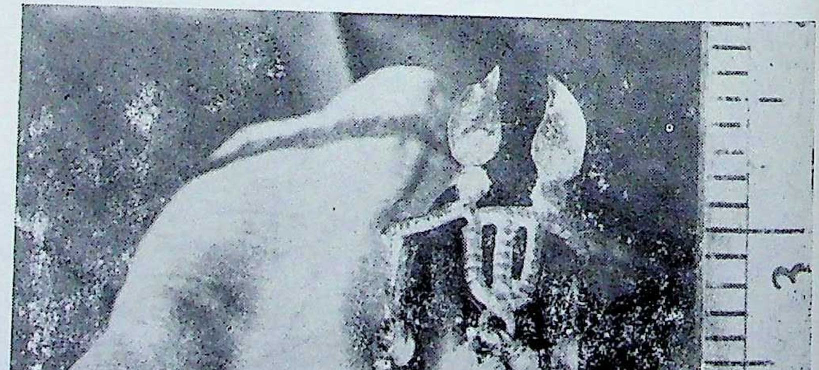


Fig. iii : Hayagrīva Sālagrāma decorated with silver & diamond: [Courtesy : Sriman V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu]

The Padmapurāṇa :

If the *sālagrāma* looks like an *aṅkuśa* (goad) and is with *cakradhvaja* it is called *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

In another place of the same purāṇa the description is given that the *Hayagrivasālagrāma* is in the form of *aṅkuśa*, having five lines on it. It is blue *(nila)* in colour with many dots. If the lines are long on *Hayagrivasālagrāma*, it is said to be of a benign - *Hayagriva (Saumyahayagriva)*, worshipped for wisdom. If the front portion is in the form of a horse or that of a lotus it is also a feature of *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

The Brahmapurāṇa :

If a Sālagrāma is in the form of *aṅknśa* with *rekha, cakra* and also is of many colours - particularly in the black with a mixture of blue and red colours *(nilalohita)* it is callled a *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

The Garuḍapurāṇa :

If a *sālagrāma* is in the form of a goad *(aṅkuśa)* with five lines together and is in the shape of *kaustubha*-jewel it is called a *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

The Brahmavaivartapurāṇa :

If a *sālagrāma* is in the shape of a horse-face with two discs *(cakra)* it is called *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

The Agṇipurāṇa :

If it is in the form of *aṅkuśa* with blue lines together with dots, it is called *Hayagrivasālagrāma*.

The Purāṇasaṁgraha :

It is said that *Hayagrivasālagrāma* is in colour of the mixture or red and yellow and it is in the form of *aṅkuśa* and is with *tārkṣya* and *cakra*. It is also in the form of a lotus and on the side it is in the shape of *kuṇḍala* (circle).

The face of the *Hayagrivasālagrāma* is in the form of *aṅkuśa* and it is with '*dirghabindu samujvalam*' and also its form looks like a ripe *jambūphala*.

The *Hayagrīvasālagrāma* is in the shape of *aṅkuśa* and is with *rekhā-cakra*. It is black in colour.

The Merutantra[6]:

It is in the form of *aṅkuśa* with lines which look like a disc. It too has with many dots and is in blue colour on its back, and it is also similar to a horse-shape. The *Sālagrāma* with these features is considered to be *Saumyahayagrīvasālagrāma*.

It seems that the uniform feature of the *Hayagrīvasāla grāma* is goad-shape (ankuśākāra). A few texts describe its shape of horse-face. The lines, discus and colour of *Hayagrīvasālagrāma* vary from text to text.

Among Ācaryas Śaṅkara's (8th century) mention of *sālagrāma* gives us the earliest reference to *Viṣṇu's* worship in the form of *Sālagrāma*. The statements of *Śaṅkara*,[7] in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, for illustrating his philosophical doctrine "as in the case of Lord Viṣṇu exists in the form of *Sālagrāmastone*", presupposes the popularity of *Sālagrāma* worship during the time of *Saṅkara* and tells its antiquity. The *Padmapurāṇa*[8] gives due place to the worship of Hari in the form of a *Sālagrāma* along with his worship in the form of *maṇi*, *yantra*, *maṇḍala* and *pratimā*. The same *purāṇa* has given the description of *Hayagrīvasālagrāma*.

MANTRA

A *mantra* is composed of one or many letters arranged in definite sequence of sounds of which the letters are the representative of signs. To get the intended effect mantra must be intoned in the proper way according to rhythm (svara) and sound (varṇa). The textual sources of *mantras* are the Vedas. The *Purāṇas*, the *Tantras*, the *Āgamas* and the other later treatises, particularly, the texts of Tantric nature, where abundant information regarding mantras are found, constitute the *mantraśāstra* i.e., the science of *Mantras*. As far as the Vedic literature is concerned, the word mantra is used to indicate a Vedic verse in any passage in the *Saṁhitā* portion. Particularly, according to the *Mantraśāstra* each deity has his or her seed-mantra *(bijamantra)* which is used in the worship of a particular deity of whose total *mantra* it becomes a component part. Vast number of *bījakośa* texts, Lexicons for *mantras* and also the manuals[10] like the *Mantramahārṇava*, the *Mantramahodadhi* etc., stand as the veritable source of *mantras* of different deities. The worship exclusively by means of repetition and meditation of *mantra* tends towards the internal worship rather than the external in its nature. It is not out of place to quote a definition of *mantra* given by Swami Agehananda Bharati[11]: "a *mantra* is a quasi-morpheme or a series of quasi-morphemes or a series of mixed, genuine and quasi-morphemes arranged in conventional patterns based on codified esotaric traditions, and passed on from a preceptor to the desciple in the course of a prescribed initiation-ritual." In this definition he does not include any reference to the purpose or the purposes of *mantra* because he is of opinion that the statement of purpose is a material one which must be excluded from the definition. But in another instance, he enumerates three possible purposes namely propitiation, acquisition and identification or introjection.

1 (a) *The Mystical syllables and the Sanskrit alphabet*

The letters of Sanskrit alphabet are also used as mystical syllables which are classified into two, depending on the division of vowels and consonants which are adopted in the form of *mantras*. It is said that both vowel *(svara)* and consonants *(vyañjana)* are philosophically viewed to symbolise as the modes of *Prakṛti* and *Brahman* respectively. As the result of combination of the vowels and consonants vitality emerges. The seed-*mantras (bīja-mantra)* are described as different aspects of the ultimate Reality, Brahman itself.

(b) *The Monosyllabic mantras for different purposes*

We have different mono-syllabic mantras which are adopted for serving different purposes as follows: For example —

Syllables		*Purpose*
aṁ	—	for binding or imprisoning the obtained *(sādhyabandhana)*

hrīṁ — for getting all riches (*sakalasaṁpatpradāna*)
aiṁ — for bestowing speech (*vākpradāna*) etc.

(c) *The Seed-syllables and their presiding deities*

They are the seed syllables (*bijākṣara*) which stand for different deities and also serve different purposes :

Syllables		*Deity and purpose*
hrīm	—	*māyābījam*
em	—	*sarasvatībījam and vākbījam as well*
klīm	—	*kāmabījam*
am	—	*pāśabijam or ākarāṣaṇabījam*

(d) *Six prayogas for ābhicārika purpose*

We have mystical syllables for adopting them in six ways of *ābhicārika* purposes. For these six *prayogas*' specific mystical syllables are used[12] :

Syllable		*Purpose*
vaṣat	—	for bringing under control (*vaśya*)
phaṭ	—	for driving away or warding off (*ucchāṭana*)
hum	—	for hatred (*dveṣaṇa*)
khem	—	for ruining the adversery (*māraṇa*)
tah or *tam*	—	for arresting or dumbing the opponent (*sthabhana*)
vauṣaṭ	—	for attracting the desire (*ākarṣana*)

These six prayogas are divided into *pūrva*, *madhyama* and *apara*. *Vaśya* and *ākarṣaṇa* are grouped as *pūrva*, *dveṣana* and *māraṇa* as *madhyama* and *sthambhana* and *ucchāṭana* as *apara.*[13]

(e) *The significance of the place of mantrajapa*

It is prescribed that the repetition of mantra to be done sitting under different trees and in different places for getting different specific results. For example :

The tree		*The result*
udambara	—	gain of land *(pṛthvilābha)*
bilva	—	gain of wealth *(śrīlābha)*
tintriṇī	—	gain of peace and liberation *(śānti* and *mokṣa)*
pippala	—	increase of luster *(tejo vṛddhi) etc.*

(f) *The significance of time in mantrajapa*

The repetition of *mantra* done in different times of Indian calendar yields different kinds of results. For example:

Twelve months

Month		*Result obtained*
Caitra	—	suffering from disease *(vyādhipiḍana)*
Vaiśākha	—	gain of land *(bhūmilābha)*
Jyeṣṭha	—	death *(māraṇa)*
āṣāḍha	—	destruction of relatives *(bandhunāśa)* etc.

Ayana

Name of the ayana		*The results obtained*
Uttarāyaṇa	—	fulfilment of one's own desired acts *(isṭhakāryasiddhi)*
dakṣiṇāyana	—	for destructive purposes *(māraṇādyugrakāryārtha)*

Six Seasons

Name of the season (ṛtu)		*The result obtained*
Hemanta	—	arresting *(sthambhana)*
Śiśira	—	death *(māraṇa)*
Vasanta	—	attraction *(ākarṣaṇa)*
Grīṣma	—	harted *(vidveṣaṇa)*
Varṣa	—	driving away or warding off *(ucchāṭana)*

saradṛd — subdual *(vaśya)*

Here for the six seasons, the six *ābhicārikā* purposes are mentioned for the aspirant whose goal is liberation. All seasons are prescribed as good.

Tithi

Name of the tithi		*The result obtained*
pratipat (pāḍyami)	—	producing obsticles *(vighnakāri)*
dvitīya (vidiya)	—	fulfillment of desires *(abhīṣṭhadāyinī)*
tṛtiya (tadiya)	—	obtainment of victory *(vijayaprāpti)* etc.

Other Auspicious Days

Name of the day		*The result obtained*
Saṁkrānti pauṣkara	—	definite *mantrasiddhi* could be obtained
Starting from the sun-rise till successive ten *ghaṭikas* in all the seasons and Śivarātri-day.	—	good and auspicious for *purasacaraṇa* and initiation *(upadeśa)*

Day (vāra)

Name of the day		*The result obtained*
Sunday *(bhānuvāra)*	—	power of subdual *(vaśyakṛt)*
Monday *(induvāra)*	—	liberation *(mokṣa)*
Tuesday *(bhaumavāra)*	—	death *(māraṇa)*
Wednesday *(Saumya)*	—	power of arresting *(sthambhana)*
Thursday *(guruvāra)*	—	attraction *(akarṣaṇa)*
Friday *(bhṛguvāra)*	—	hatred *(vidveṣaṇa)*
Saturday *(ravinandanavāra)*	—	also power of arresting *(sthambhana)*

2. *Ten or eight constituent parts of Mantra*

According to the traditional authorities mantra has ten or eight limbs *(daśāṅga* or *aṣṭāṅga)* attached to it. The ten limbs are: *ṛṣi*, *chandas*, *daivatā*, *bīja*, *śakti*, *kilaka*, *nyāsa*, *dhyāna*, *pañcapūja* and *gāyatri*.[14] The eight limbs are: *nyāsa*, *dhyāna*, *mantra–gāyatri*, *mālika*, *hṛdaya*, *pañjara* and *kavaca* [15]

3. *Hayagriva Mantra in the Pāñcarātra Texts*

a) *The Viṣṇutilaka*

In the fourth Chapter of the *Viṣṇutilaka*,[16] we find a discussion regarding the *mantra* of *Hayagriva (Hayagrīvamanu)*. *Hayagrīvamantra* which is otherwise known as *haṁsamanu*, is extolled as the bestower of both livelihood *(bhukti)* and liberation *(mukti)*. In this context, as in the case of certain texts dealing with esotaric *mantra*–information with secret symbolism, the *haṁsamantra* is also narrated here in the following fashion. It is said that the *haṁsamantra*, a name given to the *Hayagrīva-mantra* contains eighth and seventh letters of the ya-varga (ya, ra, la, va, śa, ṣa, *sa*, *ha* i.e , *h* and *s*), together with praṇava (Oṁ). Now the seed-*mantra* of Hayagrīva *(bīja mantra)* results as follows in one lettered syllable: *Ha Sa Om = hsuam*. For this one-lettered syllable of *Hayagrivamantra*, *ṛsi* is *brahmā*, *chandas* is *gāyatri* and *devatā* is *Narāyana*.

(b) *The Kapiñjala Saṁhitā*

In the fifteenth chapter of the *Kapiñjala Saṁhitā*,[17] certain *gāyatrīmantras–list* relating to different deities such as *Agni-gāyatri*, *Viṣṇu-gāyatri*, *Garuḍa–gāyatri* etc., are found In the appendix *(adhikapāṭha)*[18] of this chapter we find *Hayagrīva-gāyatri* among the long list of *Viṣvakṣenagāyatrī*, *brahma-gāyatri*, *Agni-gāyatri*, *Nṛsiṁha–gāyatri*, *Sūrya-gāyatri*, *Kṛṣṇa-gāyatri*, *Sudarśana-gāyatri* etc. The text of *Hayagriva-gāyatri* here is as follows :

> *Hayagrīvāya vidmahe vidyānāthāya dhīmahi ||*
> *tanno hasaḥ (haṁsah) pracodayāt |||*

(c) *The Parāśara Saṁhitā*

The Parāśara Saṁhitā[19] brings together different kinds of *Hayagrīvamantras* and offers us a list of twelve combinations of mystical syllables regarding *Hayagrīva*. They are :

1. One-lettered *(ekākṣari) hsaum*
2. Three-lettered *(tryākṣarī) oṁ, śrīm, hsaum*
3. Six-lettered *(ṣaḍakṣarī) oṁ, ham, hsaum, hum phat, svaha*
4. Eight-lettered *(aṣṭākṣarī) oṁ hayagrīvāya namaḥ*
5. Ten-lettered *(daśākṣari) oṁ, hrīm, hsaum, hayagrīvāya svāhā*
6. Twelve-lettered *(dvādaśākṣarī) oṃ, namo bhagavate Hayagrīvāya*
7. *Mantra* in the form of anuṣṭup metre —

   ṛgyajussāmarūpāya vedāharaṇa karmaṇe
   praṇavodgīthavapuṣe mahāśvaśiraśe namaḥ ||

8. *udgīthapraṇavodgītha sarvavāgiśareśvara /*
   sarvavedamayācintya sarvam bodhaya bodhaya ||

9 *Om, hsaum, hrīm, śrīm, aim, śrī hayagrīva mama*
   sarvavidyām dāpaya dāpaya
   tāmasabuddhim hana hana
   ajñānādīn nāśaya nāśaya
   sarvavedaśāstrādiṣu sarvajñatvam dāpaya dāpaya
   aṇimādīn dada phat svāhā

10. *Om hrīm hayāgrīvāya yam ram paravādi vidyām paravādi jihvasthambhaṁ kuru kuru phaṭ svāhā*
11. *Om hrīm stram hayagrīvāya paravādi sarvavedaśāstra sarvavidyām ākaraṣaya ākarṣaya klaum, ksraum, vauṣat.*
12. *Om, stram, śrīm, ksuam, hayagrivāya narasiṁhāya yam, ram, sarvaśāstrān sthambhaya sthambhaya bhrāmaya bhrāmaya.*

In this list we find combinations of *mantras* for serving positive as well as negative purposes. As a god of learning

Hayagrīva not only has the power to bestow wisdom positively but also he can help the aspirant by inflicting negative effects on adversaries such as arresting the tongue of the opponent in the *śāstra*-debate, destruction of the enemies etc.

d) *The Pādma Saṁhitā*

According to the *Pādma Saṃhitā*,[20] we have sixteen-lettered *Hayagrīvamantra*, for which the seer is *Bṛhaspati*, the metre is *gāyatrī*, *devatā* is *Hayaśirṣa*. It has to be repeated one lakh times for getting the great wisdom.

4. *Hayagrīva-Mantra in the Tantra Texts*

a) The *Śāradātilakatantra*[21]

i) *Ekākṣarīhayagrīvamantra.*

For the *ekākṣarīhayagrīvamantra* – "*hsaum*", a secret symbolic presentation is found in the *Śāradātilakatantra*. The text under consideration is :

Viyad bhrugusthamarghīśa bindumad bījam īritam 75. (a) In this manner the commentary reveals the words used in the verse and their meanings. The word '*viyat*' means '*ha*', whereas '*bhrugusthamarghīśah*' stands for the letters '*sa*' and '*u*'. All these letters are accompanied by the *bindu (anusvāra)*. Now the combination of these letters becomes '*hsaum*', the one lettered *hayagrīvamantra*.

ii) *Hayagrīvagāyatrī*

vāgīśvarāya vidmahe |
hayagrīvāya dhīmahi ||
tanno haṁsaḥ pracodayāt |||
ne'ntam vagīśvara padam vidmahe padam uccaret |
hayagrīvam ca ne'ntam syād dhīmahiti tato vadet ||
tanno haṁsaḥ padānte ca pravadecca pracodayāt |

iii) *Anuṣṭup-hayagrīvamantra*

The *Śāradātilaka Saṁhitā* tells us the details of the *Hayagrīvamantra* in *anuṣṭup-metre* which is of thirty two letters as follows :

Udgīthapraṇavodgītha sarvavāgīśvareśvara |
sarvavedamayacintya sarvaṁ bodhaya bodhaya ||

This *mantra* has *Brahmā* as a seer, the *anuṣṭup* as a metre and the deity to whom it is addressed is *Hayagrīva*.

b) *The Merutantra*

The *merutantra*[22] describes a version of *Hayagrīva-gāyatri:*

vāgīśvarāya vidmahe hayagrīvāya dhīmahi |
tanno haṁsaḥ pracodayāt ||

5. *Hayagrīvamantra in the Puraṇās*

a) The *Garuḍapurāṇa*

In the *Garuḍapurāṇa*,[23] we come across a few deities regarding *Hayagrīva-mantra* and its limbs *(aṅga)*. A nine-lettered *Hayagrīva-mantra* is described here which is considered to be the bestower of all branches of knowledge. The *mūla-mantra* here is :

"Oṁ hsaum ksrauṁ śiraśe namaḥ

The mantrāngas of the mūlamantra are as follows :

om ksraum hṛdayāya namaḥ
om hrīm śirase svāhā
om ksrum śikhāya vaṣaṭ
om ksraim kavacāya hum
om ksaum netratrayāya vauṣaṭ
om ha ha astrāya phat

The successive *ślokas* in the purāṇa narrate the method of worship of Hayagrīva.

6. *Hayagrīva-mantra in the Hayagrīva-Upaniṣad*

a) The *Hayagrīva-Upaniṣad*[24] *:* a source of five *Hayagrīvamantras*

In the *Hayagrīvopaniṣad* we find the mention of the five following *mantras* of *Hayagrīva*. The following are in the śloka form in *anuṣṭup*-metre :

1. *Viśvottīrṇa svarūpāya cinmayānanda rūpiṇe |*
tubhyaṁ namo hayagrīvaya vidyārājāya viṣṇave ||

2. *ṛgyajussāmarūpāya vedhāharaṇakarmaṇe |*
praṇavodgithavapuṣe praṇatim pratipādaye ||

3. *Udgīthapraṇavodgitha sarvavāgīśvareśvara |*
sarvavedamaya sarvam bodhaya bodhaya ||

4. *oṃ śrīm prasavam om namo bhagavate hayagrīvaya |*
viṣṇave mahyam medhām prajñām prayaccha svāha ||

5. *oṁ śrīm hsaum aim aim aim klīm klīm sauh sauh hrīm*
namo bhagavate hayagrīvaya viṣṇave mahyam medhām
prajñām prayaccha svāha ||

The fifth one seems to be not a *śloka* but an eloboration of the previous *anuṣṭup* with an addition of a few more holy syllables.

b) *The pāramātmikopaniṣad*

In the *Pāramātmikopaniṣad*,[25] which is widely well-known and adopted in the *Vaikhānasa* tradition contains also a *mantra* relating to *Hayagrīva*, and was interpreted by different *Vaikhānasa* commentators. According to Śrīnivāsamakhi (Dīkṣita) the text is as follows :

> *'sārasvato vā eṣa devo' yam na vā hayaḥ pāramātmikaḥ bhayo 'bhayo vā sarvam santuṣe svāhā.*

Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita comments that the word '*haya*' which is mentioned here is not a mere horse but the form of *Hayagrīva*, which is a *līlāvibhūti* of the *Lord.*

7. *Hayagrīvamantra and Śrīvidya*

One of the texts brings *Hayagrīvamantra* very closer to the Tantrism and its well adorned Śrīvidya. In course of enumerating the details regarding the seer, mere, etc., of *Hayagrīvamantra* oṁ hrīm, hsaum, it is said that the presiding deity of this mantra is *Hayagrīva*, who is the bestower of the wisdom of *Śrī (Śrīvidyāprada)*. It is interesting to note here that the *bījamantra* '*hrīm*' is used in the composition of the above - mentioned *Hayagrīvamantra*. '*Hrīm*' is usually described as *māyābīja.*

8. *Hayagrīvāstra*

'*Astra*' literally means a missile weapon used for destructive purpose. A mantra formulae with the name of *astra* is intended for subdual and destruction of the adversary.

a) A manuscript deposited in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras[27] contains a text of '*hayagrīvāstra*' which begins with the following utterances.

Oṁ āṁ hraum sphura sphura prasphura prasphura ghora ghoratara hayagrīva ehi ehi. surūpa kṣīragaura hayānana caṭa caṭa pracaṭa pracaṭa kaha kaha aśvavaktra (yuta) brahma brahma bhrāmaya bhrāmaya bhasmīkuru bhasmīkuru...... ... . "

In this *astra*-formulae, the verbs used in the imperative form like "*caṭa*", "*pracaṭa*", "*kaha*", "*bhrāmaya*" and "*bhasmīkura*" express destructive *ābhicārika* tone.

b) We have a *Hayagrīvāstra* with the name of *Vidyādharāstra.* This matric composition seems to be sobre expressing the gain of wisdom and realization as its intended purpose. The text is as follows :

Om hlaum hrīm śrīm haim śrī hayagrīva mama sarvavidyām dāpaya dāpaya tāmasa buddhim hana hana agñānādīn nāśaya nāśaya sarvavedaśāstrādiṣu sarvajñatvam dāpaya dāpaya aṇimādīn dada phaṭ svāhā

c) There is another *hayagrīvāstra* which shows completely destructive tendency in the case of opponents (Paravadi) in intellectual encounter and debate. The purpose is to arrest the tongue of the opponents *(Paravādi jihvāstambham kuru kuru).*

d) Sometimes we find the combination of mantras of different deities. The *Hayagrīvanarasiṁhāstra* comes under this particular category. Here the combination of wisdom bestowing *Hayagrīva* and *Narasiṁha* in his destructive form gives more intensity and potency to subdue the opponents by attracting their knowledge of scriptures and by arresting their academic glory. *(Paravādi sarva vedaśāstrasarvavidyām ākarṣaya .... sarvaśatrūn stambhaya stambhaya).*

9. *The Thousand-lettered Hayagrivamantra*

The magical aspect of mantra-formulae of Viṣṇu-Hayagrīva is further illustrated in the *Hayagrīvasahasrākṣara-mahāmantra*.[28] We have seen that how the single-lettered seed mantras are formed. We have also examined the *bīja-mantra* of *Hayagrīva* - "*hsaum*". From that single-lettered seed-*mantra*, a *mantra* could be elaborated to the multi-lettered ones to the maximum extent of Thousand letters. We have a manuscript in grantha characters deposited in India office library dedicated to *Hayagrīva* name "Hayagrīva - *sahasrākṣaramahāmantra.*"

10. *Puraścaraṇa*

In the *Hayagrīva-Kalpa*, *Puraścaraṇa* is one of the important elements. In *puraścaraṇa,*[29] a particular number of repetitions of *mantrajapa*, generally lakhs of times is prescribed. In the course of *puraścaraṇa* one has to get up everyday during the time of Dawn *(brāhmīmuhūrta)*. After finishing the necessary daily duties *(Kṛtanityakriyāḥ)*, he has to utter the *puṇyāha* recitation *(puṇyāhavācana)*. Having cleaned the place of worship *(bhūsuddhi)*, the diagram of tortoise *(kūrma)* should be drawn. After that, eliminating the seats made out of bamboo, stone, earth, wood *(Vaṁśī-aśma-dharaṇī-dāru)*, grass *(tṛṇa)*, shoots *(Pallava)*, one should be seated in the posture of *Svasthika* on seats made out of *darbha-(kuśa)*, multi-coloured square carpet-seat, *(Citrāsana)*, blanket made of wool *(Kambalavastra)*, tiger-skin *(Vyāghracarma)*, deer-skin *(mṛgājna)*. It is advised that the diagram of tortoise should not be drawn on the hills and mountains, on the banks of the rivers, on the sea-shore, in the sacred hermitages *(Puṇyāśrama)* and in the temple dedicated to the deity *(devālaya)*. Then *Mūlamantranyāsa* should be done after offering salutation to the three generation of teachers *(gurutraya)* i.e., his teacher, teacher's teacher and grand-teacher. Having dressed himself with sacred clothes *(divyāmbara)* and decorating himself with sandal paste and flowers *(gandhapuṣpālaṁkṛta)*, the aspirant should perform the daily worship *(pūjā)* and repeat mystical syllable which stands for the deity *(mantrajapa)*. It should be accompanied by the breathing exercises *(prāṇāyāma)*. This process should be followed until the compeltion or *purascaraṇa*. After *prāṇāyāma*, the worshipper should take a vow for not crossing the boundaries of the four directions of his village until a length of a kośa (Kośa means roughly two and half miles distance). The *saṁkalpa* of this process includes the details of the country or place *(deśa)* in which the aspirant lives and in which time *(kāla)* he performs certain religious acts. After *saṁkalpa* he should utter 'I shall recite mantra' *(japam Kariṣyāmi)*. Facing the place of japa *(japasthala)*, sipping two times the water *(dvirācamana)*, performing breathing excercises *(prāṇāyāma)* the aspirant has to recite again *saṁkalpa* together with the mention of place and time *(deśakāla)*. The following is the passage to be uttered in this context :

> *mamāmuka devatāprasāda pratibandhaka samastadurita-*
> *kṣaya dvārā amuka devatāprasāda siddhyartham amuka*
> *lakṣasaṁkhyākaṁ amuka mantra puraścaraṇam kariṣye.*

As the repetition of the mantra for one lakh times a day is normally beyond the reach of the capacity of the aspirant, the *saṁkalpa* with the reduced number could also be formulated.

During *puraścaraṇa* the following distractions of mind should be avoided : ego *(ahaṁbhāvana)*, yearning *(Tṛṣṇā)*, doing things slowly and unpunctuality *(ālaśya)*, yawning *(jṛmbhaṇa)*, sleep *(nidrā)* spitting *(niṣṭhivana)*, fear *(bhaya)*, anger *(kopa)*, touching of the secret parts of the body *(guhyāṅagsparśā)*, bad conversation *(duṣṭhasambhāṣaṇā)* fickle-mindedness *(cāpalya)*. The auspicious and good qualities, namely the faith in the scriptures, the preceptor and the deity *(Śāstra-guru-devatā-viśvāsa)*, control over senses *(indriyanigraha)*, indifference to the dualities of cold and heat etc. *(Śitoṣṇādidvandvasahana)*, observence of silence, belief in God, *(āstikya)*, compassion *(kāruṇya)* attentiveness *(śraddhā)*, observance of good principles *(niyama)* decisiveness *(niścaya)*, happiness *(santoṣa)*, eagerness *(autsukya)* etc. are to be cultivated. Then some more bad qualities to be avoided like *Jāḍya*, *Duḥkha* etc. are enumarated.

It is prescribed that the repetition of *mūlamantra (mantrānuṣṭhāna)* should be done till noon. After taking bath with the paste of the *āmalaka*, the worship along with the *mādhyāhnika Brahmayajña* etc. has to be performed. Without that the pūja should never be done. It is suggested that in the evening also *mantrajapānuṣṭhāna* or the repetition of *Mukhamantra* and the worship *(pūja)* should be done. If the aspirant is not in a position to do *Japānuṣṭhāna* and the *pūja* both the times, it is said he may do it only in the morning

Certain rules and regulations are prescribed which correlate *puraścaraṇa* and fire-offer *Home*. Ten percent of Mūlamantrajapa should be the *Homa* which has to be performed uttering the same *mantra*.

After praising the God with *Dhyāna*, *Hayagrīvamantra* should be repeated with absolute concentration. Then the *Homa* should be performed accompanied with the recitation of *Śrīsūkta*. The *Śrīsūkta-homa* should be performed for obtaining four noble ends in the Hindu way of life *(dharmārthakāmamokṣa)*. In this *homa* thousand lotus flowers sprinkled with honey and ghee together with sandal *(candana)* algocum *(agaru)* camphor *(karpūra)* musk *(Kastūrī)* chaffran *(kuṁkuma)* should be offered to the fire. If a Brahmin performs his homa he will get a large amount of riches. Those who are desirous of getting kingdom *(rājya)* should perform homa with Sesamum *(tila)* along with ghee *(ghṛta)*. Then *Hayagriva Dhyāna* is to be recited.

If one is not capable of performing the *homa* in the tāntrika-fire *(tāntrikāgni)* he may do *homa* in *Vaidika*-fire *(Vaidikāgni)* according to the methods and injunctions of the veda. If one is unable to perform the *homa*, an alternative is suggested here. In the place of *homa* one should recite double of the *japa* of the *mūlamantra* to the number that is prescribed for the homa, that means twenty percent of the *mantrānuṣṭhāna* of the *mūla mantra*. Then thousandth part of the *mulamantrajapa* should be the *tarpaṇa (tarpaṇa)* which has to be offered to the deity with the prescribed substances (dravya).

Various utterances with regard to *tarpaṇa* are prescribed. If this is not properly observed, after having *saṁkalpa* as usual *mūlamantra* should be recited three times more to the number of *tarpaṇas* prescribed. Then again the *Saṁkalpa* should be made for the corresponding number of thousandth part of *mantrajapa*, Then the Brahmins should be offered with food full of Ṣaḍrasas *(Ṣaḍrasopeta)*. These Brahmins should be of best character having their own wives. They should not be widowers. At the end they should be made happy with the gift of money *(dakṣaṇa)*. If one is not able to cope up with this prescription it could be compensated with the *mantrajapa* four times to the prescribed number of Brahmins whom the aspirant is expected to feed. Thousandth part of *mantrajapamārjana* should be done in this case.

After *mārjana*, the *pūjā* of the deity should be performed both in the morning and in the evening If it is not possible both the times, atleast once *pūjā* has to be performed. If that *pūjā* is not performed, the alternative is the repetition of *mūlamantra* two thousand times or the recitation of ***Puruṣasūkta***. According to the *Saṁkalpa, japa* is to be made along with the worship on mental plane.

Then how the aspirant should take a regulated deity is stated. On the place, square has to be drawn *(Caturasrakuṇḍlalekhana)*. On it a plate made of leaves of *palāśa* or *Padma* should be put. The food that should be eaten by the aspitant should be without honey *(madhu)* oil *(taila)*, Preparations without savour, and salt. It is advised to take vegetables *(śāka)* milk *(payas)* curds *(dadhi)* fruits *(phala)* roots *(mūla)* water *(udaka)* sesamum *(tila)* greengram *(mudga)* grains (yava) wheet *(godhuma)* rice (tanḍula) bread made out of wheet and rice. Popcorn or parched grain (lāja) could be taken every day. These food restrictions have to be followed till the end of purścaraṇa. Till the end of *dikṣā*, the aspirant should eat this simple food in the same manner in the same place. The person who has taken the vow of *puraścaraṇa* should observe all the diet restrictions, the prescribed place where he has to eat following regulations regarding cleanliness, instruction not to eat in a metal pot or plate, avoiding bodily dirtiness *(dehamālinya)* which causes all afflictions and destractions of the mind. He has to avoid wearing shirt *(kañcuka)*, turbun *(Uṣnisa)* cloth around the neck *(galavastra)* betalnuts and leaves *(tāmbūla)* shaving *(kṣaura)* oil bath *(abhyaṅgana)*.

The goal of disciplined way of *mantrapuraścaraṇa* is *mantrasiddhi*.

11. *Yantra of Hayagrīva*

Yantra[30] in the sphere of worship is a magical diagram with mystical syllables, engraved upon metallic plates or sometimes drawn on leaves and papers. *Yantra* as a geometrical pattern which synthesises lines and mystical seed-letters *(bījākṣara)* comes closer to the esotaric sound system of *mantra*-formulae. Basic to both these geometrical *yantra*-patterns and *mantra*-formulae is the belief that the human body or the human mind is the ground where they operate. It is said that *yantras* are merely extentions or externalizations of forces imagined as working within the individual and *mantras* are in the nature of concretisations or formulations of vibrations occuring within.[31]

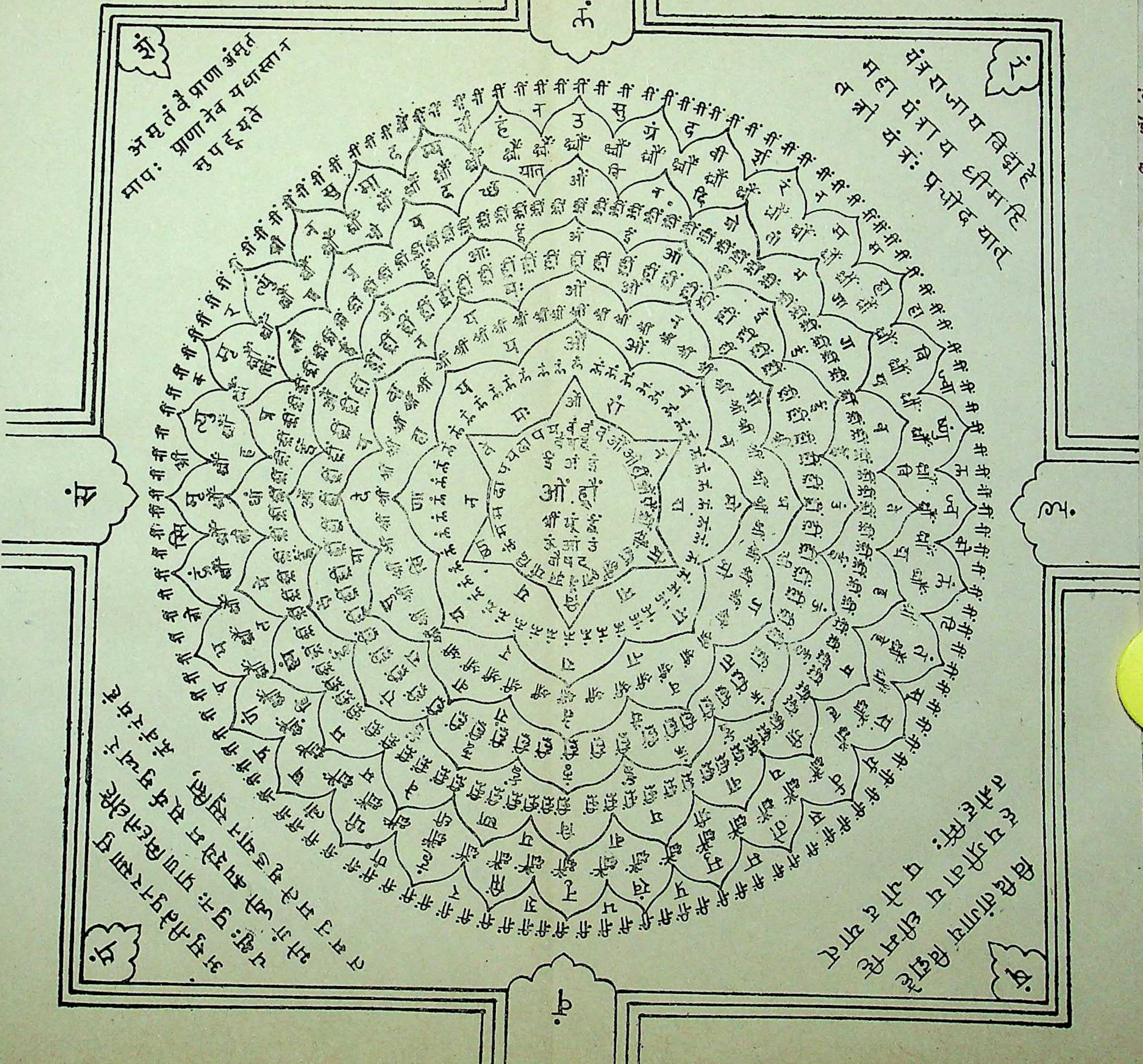
The *Tantra* texts[32] refer to the areas where these forces and vibrations operate. The purpose of these diagrams is not only to worship the presiding deity and to get realisation but also the protection of the worshipper from troubles due to the influence of evil spirits or evil deities. Sometimes they are used for the purpose of bestowing on a person happiness, wealth, health etc.

Some *Tantra* texts give prominence to the worship of *yantra* along with the *pratimā* and *maṇḍala*. The worship of *yantra* is initiated to a person at the stage of higher level of spiritual progress. It is said that the *siddhayogin*, in inward worship, *(antar-pūja)* commences with the worship of *yantra* which is the sign of *brahmavijñāna* as the *mantra* is the sign of the *devatā*;

As different images and matras are prescribed for different processes of worship regarding different deities, *yantras* also are of various patterns, according to the object of worship. The *yantra* inscribed with *mantra* serves the purpose of amnemonic chart of that *mantra* appropriate to the particular *devatā* whose presence is to be invoked in the *yantra*. An in the case of the image worship, a few preliminaries precede even in the worship of *yantra*. The worshipper meditates upon the deity and then arouses his or her presence in himself. He then transmits the divine presence thus aroused to the *yantra*. When the deity has been invoked in the *yantra* by the appropriate mantras, the vital powers are infused therein, which process is known as the *prāṇapratiṣṭhā*-ceremony. Then the worshipper welcomes the deity installed in the *yantra* and worships.

Yantra is one of the essencial principles of Tantrism: There is a close connection between *devatā* and *yantra* as we have seen already. It is described that *yantra* is the body and *devatā* is the soul.[33]

Yantra is of three kinds viz., 1. *sthāpaka*, 2. *dhāraṇa* and 3. *pūjā*. Depending on its utility *sthāpakayantras* are installed in the earth and in the walls for removing defects *(doṣa)* regarding planets and also for removing flaws of construction and architecture *(vāstu)*. For example, if owner of one particular shop or a factory is under the stress of constant loss in his business and profit, a *yantra* is made for the purpose of over coming the loss. Even in the houses to remove such defects or with the intension of getting certain benefits, the *yantras* are installed. In the temples too, under the seat of the deity to be consecrated, a *yantra* belonging to that particular deity may be kept underground. *Dhāraṇa-yantras* are small in size which could be kept as talisman and could be carried on some part of the body. The purpose of these *yantras* is mainly to remove the obstacles that resulted due to the positions of the planets of the person concerned according astrology. These *dhāraṇa-yantras* may also be used for protection from common difficulties of life. The *pūjā-yantras* are intended for the purpose of worship of a deity. Here *yantra* is adopted as a symbol of a deity as in the case of image-worship, where an anthrophormphic form of the deity is installed and worshipped. In the case of *yantra*, primarily the mystical syllables are drawn on metal plates made of gold, silver, copper and also on other materials such as leaves, paper etc. The mystical syllables inscribed therein are mainly connected with the deity to whom the whole worship is intended for. If we think of two important aspects of the deity, name and form *(nāma-rūpa)*, *yantra*-worship presupposes the worship of the name of the deity itself. In the case of the worship of Brahman or the ultimate reality with form *(sākāra Brahmopāsana) yantra* is a symbol where the worshipper worships the deity in the form



Hayagrīva Yantra [Courtesy: Sriman V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu]

of mantra *(mantramayasvarūpa)*. There is a system of drawing mystical syllables in different parts of *yantra* used for different purposes. In a *yantra*, petals, triangles etc. are drawn which are filled in with different mystical syllables.

Basing on the pattern of drawing the syllables upwards and downwards, yantras are classified into three varieties: i) *antarmukha*, ii) *bahirmukha* and iii) *sarvatomukha*.

Antarmukha-Yantras with inward facing letters are otherwise called *suṣupti-yantras*. In *suṣupti-yantras*, the mystical syllables are drawn with the heads of letters *(akṣaraśikha)* directed downwards.

Bahirmukha-Yantras with outwardly faced letters are otherwise called *Jāgrat-Yantras*, technically they are also named *varṇajāgrat*. Here the mystical syllables are drawn with the heads of letters directed upwards.

In *Sarvatomukha-Yantras*, mystical letters are drawn in the form of rows directing their heads both downwards and upwards.

As we have already seen, *Yantras* are made up of different metals like gold, silver and copper. They could also be drawn on particular leaves like *būhrja-patra*. Depending on the material used, the life-duration of the *Yantra* is determined. If a *yantra* is made with gold it is worth using for the whole life, whereas *yantras* made of silver or copper have only life of twenty years or ten years respectively. *Yantras* drawn on *bhūrja* or palm leaves, papers and walls are short-lived and are made use of for temporary purposes.

The prescribed rules for drawing an *yantra* could be gathered from the texts such as the *Gourīśvaratantra*, the *Merutantra*, the *Devibhāgavata*, the *Śāradātilaka* etc.

Yantra is supposed to have ten constituent parts which have specific features.

The following is the list of ten constituent parts of *yantra*:

1. *Mantrabīja*
2. *Prāṇabīja*
3. *Śaktibīja*
4. *Dṛṣṭibīja*
5. *Sādhya*
6. *Vaśya*
7. *Mantragāyatrī*
8. *Bhūtapañcaka*
9. *Dikpālabīja*
10. *Prāṇasthāpanā*

In the middle of the *Yantra*, *mantrabīja*, *prāṇabīja*, *śakti-bīja*, *dṛṣṭi-bīja*, *vaśya* should be drawn. Then the prescribed mystical syllables to be drawn on *yantra* should be placed in respective positions. The beginning letter of the respective *mantra* is called the seed of *mantra*. *Akāra* is *prāṇabīja*, *ākāra* is *Śakti*, *Ekāra* is *dṛṣṭibīja*. Then the *Sādhya* and *Vaśya* should be drawn. Afterwards the *mantra-Gāyatrī* should be written. *Mantrabīja* should be drawn on the top, *dṛṣṭibīja* should be drawn on the sides, *śaktibīja* should be written at the bottom, *vaśyabījā* should be drawn in *iśānya* (north-east), *prāṇabīja* should be inscribed in *āgneya* (south-east), *bhūtapañcakam* in *vāyavya* (north-west), *yantra-gāyatrī* in *nairṛti* (south-west);

Following is the method of drawing the mystical diagram of *Hayagrīva*. In the middle of the diagram, a circle should be drawn in the centre of which the holy syllable *Oṁ* should be written. The seed-syllable that stands for *Hayagrīva* is drawn in its appropriate place. The various important *mantras* are further written in various circles, petals, corners of the *yantra*. Inside space of the yantra is technically called the *Pārthiva-maṇḍala*. The diagram *Hayagrīvayantra* illustrated of by Sriman V.A. Anantapadmanabhacharyulu to the author.

Inside space of the *yantra* is technically called the *Pārthivamaṇḍala*

There are other ways of drawing the *Hayagrīvayantra* according various traditions. According to traditional Pandits, the details of the *Hayagrīvayantra*, are stated in a text called the *Vṛdha-pañcarātra*.

As in case of the image of a deity, *yantras* including the *Hayagrīvayantra* are to be installed with vital powers *(Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā)* which include the following religious procedures. 1) *Viṣvakśenapūja*, 2) *Puṇyāhavācana*, 3) *Ācāryavaraṇa*, 4) *Vāstu-pūjā* together *Vāstuhoma* for *yantraśuddhi*, 5) *Prokṣaṇa* and *saṁśodhana* with *pañcagavya* 6) *antahoma* 7) *abhiṣeka* with *gandhodaka*

8) putting *yantra* in rice and corn 9) *arcanā* with *tulasī* and flowers 10) *prāṇapratiṣṭha* of *yantra* 11) *yantrapradhānamantrapūjā* 12) *puraścaraṇa* 13) *tarpaṇā* 14) *homa* 15) *brāhmaṇabojana* after *yantra–sthāpanā*.

According to the traditional *Hayagrīva-kalpa*, it is prescribed the *Hayagrivayantra* should be worshipped placing it on the seat of god and also it is suggested that the small *Hayagrīva–yantra* may be placed by the worshipper as a talisman. The worship of *Hayagriva* may lead worshipper to obtain heaven *(svarga)*, liberation *(mokṣa)* and also bestows knowledge and wealth *(jñāna* and *aiśvarya)* etc.

12. *Mudrā*

The *Mudrā* or Symbolic hand-gesture is the physical representation of some *mantra* or magic formula, which is first recalled by the mind and articulated by the mouth. It illustrates visibly and materially a formula. *Mudrā* speaks of the language of hands which is probably the oldest in the world. As a vehicle of expression there probably existed a symbolic and conventional art of gesture, before any artistic creation in different materials like stone, clay, wood etc., has been made. Mudrā is important in the sphere of dance to express different ideas and sentiments. In India, even in the religious sphere it has been developed through the ages the system of Mudrās. 'Mudrā' is a sanskrit word which means 'seal'. Tyra De Kleen's book on *Mudrās* mentions that "the designation of ritual hand–gestures by this word originates from a time, when the priests used to pronounce certain mantra patterns (i.e. letters or syllables), which were at the same time accompanying the sound by initiating the corresponding Sanskrit charater with their fingures, thus sealing the magic."

The Āgama texts extol the value of *mudrās* in the process of worship. The *Parama Saṁhitā*[35] refers to the prominence of *mudrās* in course of worship. The *Saṁhitā* says : "That by which the happiness of those on whom one would inflict pain is made to flee, is considered *mudrā*, for that reason, O ! Brahma !, these *mudrā* gestures are dear to the gods. By means of these mudrās one insures recognition for himself. This is done especially in acts of worship, and thus worship is rendered more efficacious. The *Jayākhyasaṁhitā*[36] speaks of *vāgīśvaramudrā* for getting glory in speech *(Vāgvibhūti)*.

HAYAGRĪVA MUDRĀ

According to the *Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā*,[37] the features of *Hayagrīvamudrā* are described. *Hayagrīvamudrā* is a kind of hand gesture used in the process of worship. Stretching the palm of left hand, keeping the fingurs apart of it and join them together with the right fingures which looks like the face of horse and also erecting two thumbs for giving an appearance of ears, *Hayagrīva*-handgesture is made...... .....

> *Vistirya ca talaṁ Vāmāṅgulībhiḥ kramāt |*
> *Dakṣiṇāṅgulībhiḥ paścāt ta yathā parigṛhya vai ||*
>
> *Urdhvikṛtya rathā anguṣṭhau kriyate ya tu sādhakaiḥ |*
> *Hayaśirṣakamudreti Kirtitā sa yathāvidhī........||*

The *Śāradātilakatantra*[38] also offers a discription of a *Hayagrīva* gesture :

> *Vāmahastatale dakṣā aṅgulīstāstvadhomukhīḥ |*
> *Saṁropya madhyamam tāsām unnamyādho' vikuñcayet ||*
> *Hayagrīvapriyā mudrā tan mūrteranukāriṇī ||*

The purport of the text is that the left palm print of the fingurs of the right hand turning downwards, rise of the middle fingur from among them and the left one contracts the downwards. This is the *mudrā* that pleases *Hayagrīva* and imitates his form. We have given in this work the line drawings of *Hayagrīvamudrā* supplied by Śrimān Vedantam Ananta Padmanabhacaryulu

Chapter VI : REFERENCES

1. *Ācamana* is a ceremonial sipping of water with certain religious utterances. It serves the purificatory purpose. *Ācamana* is of four kinds : 1) *Purāṇācamana*, 2) *Smṛtyācamana*, 3) *śrutyācamana* and 4) *mānasikācamana*.
2. Water is a purificatory agent in ritualistic matters. In Indian religious context, water is identified with *Nārāyana (Viṣṇu)* as stated in a scriptural dictum – *āpo vai nārāyaṇaḥ*.

HAYAGRĪVAMUDRĀ

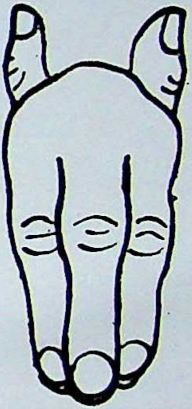


Fig. i : Hayagrīvamudrā shown with fingers (front view)
[By courtesy : Sriman V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu]

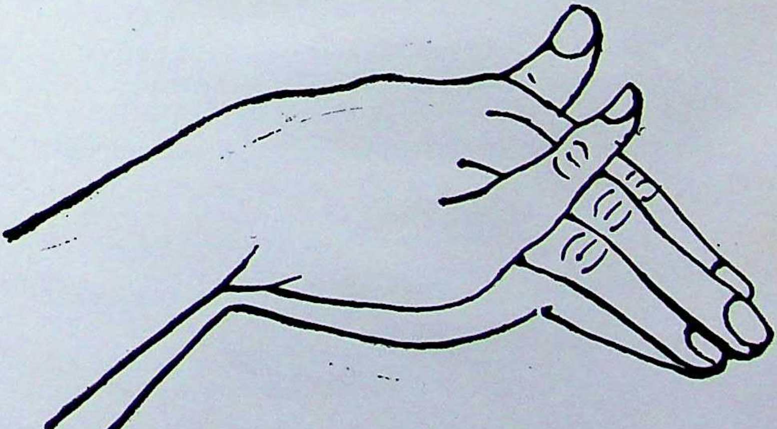


Fig. ii : Hayagrīvamudrā shown with the arrangement of fingers, side view
[By courtesy : Sriman V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu]

3. For general information about *Sālagrāma* See. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Part I, Varanasi, 1971 (Second edition), Introduction, p. 8 ff. and for Purāṇic stories in connection with *Sālagrāma,* see also *Sabdakalpadrumaḥ,* 5th Khaṇḍa, Motilal Banarasidass; Delhi 1961, p. 60 ff.

4. The *Krīyādhīkāra, śloka.* 16.

According to this *Vaikhānasa* work, there are five forms of holy water *(tīrtha)* to be sipped by the devotees. The authority for this clasification is the following :

sālagrāmaṁca cakraṁca sūktam puruṣameva ca |
tulasī śaṁkhatoyam ca pañcatīrtham prakalpayet
(The *Krīyādhikāra,* śl. 10)

5. *Vīramitrodaya* of *Mitramiśra,* ed. by Paṇḍita Viṣṇu Prasad, Vol XX, Fasciculas VI, Benaras, 1916 (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, A collection of rare and extraordinary works, No. 220) p. 553 ff.

6. The *Merutantram,* ed. by Raghunatha Sastri, Bombay, (Samvat) p. 103, vv. 616–620.

7. Brahmasūtras with Śankara's commentary, Kamakoti śamsthānam, Madras, 1954.

Yathā sālagrāma hariḥ B.S. 1,2.7.
Sālagrāma iva Viṣṇoh B.S. 1.2.14.
Yathā sālagrāme Viṣṇuḥ B.S. 1.3.14.

8. The *Padma purāṇa,* Ch. 10., *Pātāla Khaṇḍa,* Bangabasi edition.

9. Ibid. ch. 47, V. 36.

10. The *Mantramahārṇava,* Sri Venkateswara Steam Press, Bombay, 1940; The *Mantramūktāvalī,* Sri Venkateswara Steam Press, Bombay, 1937; *Mantrasiddhi ka Upāy* (Hindi), Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, No. 3071/63.

11. Age hānanda Bhāratī, The Tantric Tradition, Rider & Company, London, Fourth impression, 1975 (First Published 1965), p. 111.

12. *Vaṣat vaśye phaṭ ucchāṭe huṁ dveṣe khem ca māraṇe |*
taḥ sthambhau Vauṣaḍākarṣe namaḥ sampattihetave ||

13. *Vaśyākarṣaṇapūrve ca dveṣa māraṇamadhyame ||*
sthambanocchāṭanamapare ṣaṭprayoge vidhīyate ||

14. *ṛṣis chando daivatam ca bījam śaktiśca kīlakam |*
nyāsam dhyānam pañcapūjā Gayatrī ti daśāṅgakam ||

15. *nyāsam dhyānam ca mantram ca gāyatrī mālikā tathā |*
hṛdayam pañjaram proktam kavacānceti tathāṣṭakam ||

16. The *Viṣṇutilaka,* (ed.) K.E. Raghavacharyulu and Vajapeyam Krishnasastri, Bangalore 1896, Ch. 15, p. 76.

Yavarge cāṣṭhamo varṇaḥ tadvarge saptamaḥ punaḥ |
praṇavaśca bhavenmantraḥ haṁsaikākṣarasaṁjñakaḥ ||

17. The Kapiñjala Saṁhitā, ed. by P. Sitaramacharya, Bhadrachalam 1930, Ch XV, p. 119.

18. Ibid. p. 119.

19. The *Pārāśarasaṁhitā*, (quoted from the notes of Pandit Sri V.A Ananta Padmanabhacharyulu).

20. The *Pādma Saṁhitā*, *Caryāpāda*, Ch. 28.

21. The *Śāradātilakatantram,* ed. by Arthur Avolon, part II, Calcutta 1933. Ch. 15, pp. 624 25. (Tantric Texts. Vol. XVII).

22. The *Merutantram*, vv. 616-620.

23. The *Garuḍapurāṇa*, (ed) Kshemaraj, Sri Venkateswara Press, Bomby 1867, Ch. 34, vv. 5-7, p. 21.

24. The *Hayagrīvopaniṣad*, The Vaiṣṇavopaniṣads, (ed) A. Mahadevasastri, The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras 1979, pp. 403-404.

25. The Pāramātmikopaniṣadbhāṣyam, ed. by R. Parthasarathi Bhattacharya and U.C. Srinivasabhattacharya, Nalluru, 1948, pp. 64 ff.

26.

27. A Trienniel catalogue of Manuscripts, Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 69, 36-44.

28. A Manuscript in Grantha Character, Catalogue of India Office Library, No. 6207.

29. For a short independent account of *puruścaraṇa* see "The *Puraścaraṇabodhinī*", ed. by Hara Kumara Tagore (1895) and see also The *Tantrasāra*, p. 71.

30. There is an independent work on *Yantra* called The *Yantracintāmaṇī* by Damodara, edited with Telugu paraphrase by Paṭṭisapu Sūryanārāyaṇabrahma, Madras 1966.

31. S.K. Ramachandra Rao, Tantra, Mantra and Yantra, Arnold-Heinemann, New Delhi 1971, Introduction, p. 11.

32. Cf. Sir John Woodroffe, Introduction to *Tantra Śāstra*, Madras, 6th edition – 1973 (first published as Introduction to The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra)*, pp. 92 ff.

33. *Yantram mantramayam proktam mantrātmā devataiva hi |*
dehātma yoryathā bhedo yantradevatāyostathā ||
This is a verse in the *Kaulāvalīya Tantra*, quoted from, Sir John Woodroffe's Introduction to the Tantra śāstra, p. 95, Fn. 3.

34. Tyra De Kleen, Mudras, The Ritual Handposes of the Buddha Priests and The Śiva priests of Bali, Delhi 1975, p. 17-18.

35. The *Parama Samhitā*, (ed) 'S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar', Oriental Research Institute, Baroda 1940, Ch. 14, vv. 1–5, p. 98 ff.

36. The *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*, (ed.) Embār Krishnamacharya, Oriental Research Institute, Baroda 1931, 93 ff, p. 77 ff. (Gaekwod's Oriental Series, No LIV).

37. The *Sanatkumara Samhitā*, *Ṛṣirātram*, Ch. II, vv. 69-70, p. 324.

38. The *Śāradātilakatantra*, (ed. Aurthe Avalon), p. 624.

CHAPTER VII

Literature Weaved around The deity Hayagrīva

I. *Mystical and esoteric composition for recitations*

1. *Introduction*

Mantra is the holy syllable through which a God or a Goddess is meditated upon. The worship of a deity through the method of repetition of *mantra* along with the constituent requirements of the process of worship has preliminary recitation in the form of prologue in the *mantrānuṣṭhāna* and also recitation in the form of *epilogue*, which are otherwise known as *Pūrva* and *Uttara* aspects of the mantrānuṣṭhāna. These aspects constitute the following forms of recitation :

1. *Daṇḍaka*
2. *Kavaca*
3. *Mālā*
4. *Pañjara*
5. *Stotra*

According to the tradition, *pūrva* and *uttara* aspects of *mantrānuṣṭhāna* safeguard concentration and repetition of *mantra* which is so valuable and which has to be well-protected. The *pūrva* aspect is intended for qualifying the aspirant to be a good meditator and protecting him not to be disturbed from that purpose whereas the *uttara* aspect aims at the *mantrasiddhi* and also *anugrahaprāpti* of the deity. Both these aspects protect the aspirant from all directions in all times under all circumstances and also limbs and sublimbs of his body.

As we have been different forms of repetition such as *daṇḍaka*, *kavaca*, *mālāmantra*, *pañjara* and *stotra*, have to be uttered in the same sequence in both the *pūrvāṅga* and *uttarāṅga* aspects.

2. *Daṇḍaka*

Metres with 27 or more letters in each quarters are designated by the general name *daṇḍaka*. The highest number of syllables of this species of metre is said to be 999. In each quarter there must be first two 'na' gaṇas or six short syllables and the remaining may be either 'ra' gaṇas or 'ya' gaṇas, or the entire Pāda may be of 'sa' gaṇas. The classification of *daṇḍaka* usually mentioned are *Caṇḍavṛṣiprayāta*, *pracataka*, *mattamātaṅgalilākara*, *siṁhavikrānta*, *kusumestabaka*, *anaṅgaśekhara*, *saṁgrāma* etc.

Daṇḍaka is composed in a garland-like metre where the presiding deity of worship is praised. Sometimes these *daṇḍakas* extolling different Gods and Goddesses appear in the purāṇic literature and sometimes they are composed by individual devotees. The *Hayagrīva daṇḍaka* which starts with "*Jaya Jaya Turagāsya*............" contains salient features of *Hayagrīva* and also it exhibits the power and glory of *Hayagrīva mantra*. As in the case of other *daṇḍakas*, protection of one's own self, destruction of enemies, equality of mankind, knowledge of herbs, suggestions regarding health and hygene and details regarding the incarnations of the Lord Almighty, became the constituent elements of this form of devotional literature. The *Hayagrīva-daṇḍaka* suggests the grains of *Kaṅguṇi* (Korralu in Telugu) should be pounded and the bread made out of it should be eaten by the aspirant.

Gods of different direction *(dikpālaka)* obtained their respective positions because of the grace of this deity. This contains also the important features *Hayagrīvamūrti* such as white complexion of the body, the "*hēṣārava*" (neighing) of this which causes the destruction of the demons and expresses the connection of the deity with the vedic wisdom. It contains also the secrets of the *mantras* of *Hayagrīva*. This *daṇḍaka* was composed by Satkori Paṇḍitāchārya (other version of the name of the autor Satkoti Paṇḍitachārya or Chiṭṭikoneṭi Bhaṭṭu.

3. *Kavaca*

a) *Pūrva Kavaca*

The devotional composition *Kavaca* is intended for the protection of the devotee. Literally *Kavaca* means armour. The devotee prays the deity that he should be protected from all directions in all times and in all circumstances and also his limbs and sublimbs should be protected. *(sarvadik rakṣaṇa sarvakāla sarvāvasthā rakṣaṇa* and *aṅgapratyaṅga rakṣaṇa)*.

Usually the imperative form of verbs like Save me *(pātu)*, protect me, *(rakṣatu)* are used in this composition. It is said that *Hayagriva-Kavaca* is a part of *Hayagrivakāṇḍa* of *Pūrva Saṁhitā* of the *Atharvaveda*. In usual way *ṛsi-chando-daivata* etc. are given in the beginning. *Ṛsi–Hayagrīva; chandas-Anuṣṭhup, devatā – Hayagriva Paramātmā, bījam – Om hrīm vāgīśvarāya namo namaḥ, Śakti – Om kṣim Vidyādharāya namo namaḥ – Kīlakaṁ – Om klām vedanidhaye namo namaḥ* Then it follows with an expression *Śrī Hayagrīvāya śuklavarṇāya jñānamūrtaye Oṃkārāya acyutāya brahmavidyā pradāyī svāhā*. Then the *Japa* which is aimed at to get the mastery over all branches of learning and the achievement of all varieties of riches *(sakala vidyaiśvaryārtha)*, follows.

In the *Kavaca* the protection for different parts of the body is sought for from the deity In the end of this *Kavaca*, the praise of intended result of recitation of the *Kavaca* is given. It is said that the devotee who recites this *Kavaca* becomes *Vāgīśvara* (Hayāgrīva) himself after his departure from the body and during this life-time he would get by the grace of *Hayagriva* definetly without least doubt longevity, health, wealth and mastery over all branches of knowledge.

b) Uttara Kavaca :

In the *uttara kavaca* also we find the similar prayer to the deity for protection. But the text is different from the *Pūrva Kavaca*. It also deals with the protection of different parts of the body :

Hayagrīva śiraḥ pātu
lalāṭaṁ mādhavastathā
netrayoḥ Śrīdharaḥ pātu and so on

Then the protection from all directions is asked for :

pūrve māṁ pātu Śrīkṛṣṇo
dakṣiṇe nandanandanaḥ
pascime ca hṛṣīkeśo
Viṣṇuḥ pātu tadottare and so on

Later the protection in all times is demanded by the devotee :

athaḥ māṁ sādā pātu mukundo dharaṇidharaḥ

Lastly the Hayagrīva-Mantra and its uddhāra is described :

tārakaṁ namasā yuktam
turyānta bhagavatparaṁ
Vāgīśvareśvarāyeti
sarveṣu vedyaṁ me
sādhussadā paraṁparaṁ
Śrīmat Hayamukhāyeti
dvātriṁśatvarṇago manuḥ

The thirty-lettered-Mantra-composition reads as follows :

Oṁ namo bhagavate Vāgīśvarāya sarveṣu
sarvavidyā pravartakāya śrīmaddhayamukhāya

Here also we find the praise of intended result *(Phalastuti)* of this *kavaca* recitation which contains the following details. It is instructed that this *Kavaca* should be properly taught by a spiritual preceptor and should not be given to a person who is not a devoted desciple *(aśiṣya)* and who is a rascal *(durvinīta)*. Never it should be given to a desciple with an expectation of some thing in return. In the case of a *Vaiṣṇava* it should be taught by a *guru* along with *Pañcasaṁskāra*. An additional gain of the recitation this *Kavaca* is to get protection from the evil spirits etc. *(bhūtādi)*. Here at the end of this *phalastuti*, this *Kavaca* is said to be a constituent part of the *Sudarśana-Saṁhitā*, directly taught by *Nārāyaṇa* himself.

The *Kavaca* of *Hayagrīva* is recited not only for protection but also for getting the knowledge of *Brahman.*

Oṁ māṁ sakalakalmaṣa nivṛtti dvārā brahmavidyāprāptyartham.

It is also intended for getting a qualification for the initiation of any *Mantra* and its fulfilment *(siddhi)*.

Sarvamantropadeśādhikāra siddhyartaṁ

Even in the case of *Hayagrīva Kavaca* it is prescribed touching different parts of the body in the form of *aṅganyāsa* and *karanyāsa*, connecting them with different *mantrāṅgas*. The following parts of the body should be touched by the hand while reciting different parts of the *mantrāṅga*.

rṣi — head *(śira)*
Chandas — face *(mukha)*
devatā — heart *(hṛdaya)*
Bīja — Navel *(nābhi)*
Śakti — Secret parts *(guhya)*
kīlakam — feet *(Pāda)*

In one of the versions of *kavaca*, it is said that this is taken from the dialogue of *Gopāla* and *Arjuna* in *Hayagrīvatantra Pūrvasaṁhitā*, *Atharvaveda Mantrakhaṇḍa*.

We find also *Hayagrīvakavaca* in the from of a dialogue of *Pārvatī* and *Parameśvara*. *Pārvatī* askas *Mahādeva* that she is deeply interested to hear the *Hayagrīvakavaca*, after having already listened to the other *Kavacas* composed in praise of Lord *Ramāpati (Viṣṇu)*. As an answer, Mahādeva said: "My dear lady, I will teach you definetly nector-like *Hayagrīva-Kavaca* although it is secret. During the end of the great Kalpa, Hari wandering here and there sportively took the form of *Hayavaktra* for reviving the three vedas *(trayī)*. At that time, Hari taught Brahmā *(Viriñci)* this *Kavaca*. Next Lord *viriñci* taught me this. In this the *mantrāṅgas* seem to be different from already mentioned details:

ṛsi — *Brahmā*
Chandas — *Anuṣṭhup*
Devatā — *Hayagrīva*
Bījam — *hsauṁ*
Śakti — *hrauṁ*
Kīlakam — *Oṁ*

The text of this *Kavaca* is different from others in its composition. In the end it is instructed that this *Kavaca* should be recited by intelligent people *(dhīmān)* for protecting themselves from bad diseases and groups of demons and evil spirits and also it is said that this should be recited during three *saṁdhyas* with great devotion.

In the composition of *Kavaca* stylistically the imperative form of verb is used in the middle in the fashion of *madhya-Maṇinyāya*, which is applicable to the previous as well as the latter part of the sentence. For example, '*hayagrīva śiraḥ pātu lalāṭaṁ candra madhyagaḥ*' Here The verb '*Pātu*' could be applied to previous and latter parts of the line '*Hayagrīva śiraḥ pātu* and *lalāṭaṁ candra madhyagaḥ pātu* but according to *madhya-maṇinyāya* only one *pātu* is used.

4. *Mālā Mantra :*

Mālā Mantras is a third element in the sequence of recitation also contain both *Pūrva* and *Uttarāṅgas*. Mainly *Mālā Mantra* is intended for the destruction of the enemy. In other words we may say that this mantric composition serves *ābhicārika* purpose. So we find the imperatives like digest (jīrṇaya), 'eat' (Bhakṣaya), cut (Khaṇḍaya) etc. The adopted in the course of the recitation of these *Mālā Mantras*. As usual Mantrāṅgas like *Ṛṣi*, *Chandas* etc. are also given for *Mālā Mantras*.

Ṛṣi — *garga*
Chandas — *Trijagatī*
Devatā — *Hayagrīva Paramātmā*
Bījam — *Kṣām*
Śakti — *Kṣīm*
Kīlakam — *Kṣūm*

The *Japa* is intended for the fulfillment of all desires (*sarvārtha siddhaya jape vimiyogaḥ*).

No *Karanyāsa* is given in the following sequence :

Oṁ hsauṁ — *anguṣṭhābhyāmnamaḥ*
Oṁ hsaum — *tarjanībhyām namaḥ*
Oṁ hsaum — *madhyamābhyam vāṣaṭ*
Oṁ hsaum — *anāmikābhyām hum*
Oṁ hsaum — *kaniṣṭhikābhyām vauṣat*
Oṁ hsaum — *karatalakarapṛṣṭhābhyām phaṭ*

Next there would *hṛdayādinyāsa* and *digbandha* with the recitation *bhūrbhuvassuvaram*. Then the *dhyāna* is made which follows the expression of different *mudras* – *aṁkuśa* (elephant driver's hook or goad), *sūpakam* (a winnower's basket), *pāśam* (a noose or a cord), *pallavam* (a blossam or a sprout or a bud) *mauktikam*– which are called *pañcamudra*. According to the tradition the purpose of these Hand-gestures *(Mudra)* is to arrest the tongue of the enemy.

(a) *Pūrva Mālā Māntra:*

The terrific nature of these *Mantras* and their intended results are to some extent connected with the *Tantra* and *Mantrayanic* development in the History of the Hindu religious thought. This kind of *ābhicārika* type of the composition of the Mystic syllables and its purpose which is directed for not only defence of the aspirant as in the case of *daṇḍaka* or *Kavaca* or *Pañjara* with request for the grace of the deity but the trend of the violent form of worship runs towards the offence for the destruction of the enemy. The mystic syllables that are selected in these violent *Mālā Mantra* are very harsh in their tone and content serving the purpose appropriately.

Now we discuss certain aspects of *Pūrva Mālā Mantra* connecting them with the imperative forms of verbs that are used there.

Here we can focus on the point of the destruction of the tongues of the enemies, probably one may understand this as in the case of intellectual debate (*śāstrārtha* or *śāstracarcā*). For blocking the advancements of the opponent during the *śāstric* discussion the deity is conceived with features pertaining *Heṣarava* (terrific neighing) and also the word, scorching *Baḍabānala* (submarine fire) which is a product of the see during the time of desolution or destruction.

We have a manuscript in the Madras Government Manuscripts Library. The Manuscript begins with the following passage.

athāto bhagavantam sarvatejonidhānam
sarvaduṣṭadurita vidhvaṁsinam
mahāvidyārājarūpiṇam hayaśirasam
āvarthyiṣyāmi... ... ...

Here also we find that the purpose is the destruction of all evil doers. The epithet that is used for Hayagrīva namely *Mahāvidyāraja* leads us to the interpretation that this kind of *Mantra-pattern* some how or the other influenced by Buddhist lore. In this Manuscript J.N. Banerjea seeks a demonstratable evidence of the influence of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism on the dire aspect of *Hayagrīva*. We know also that *Hayagrīva* as *Vidyārāja* plays an important role in the *Mantrayāna* and *Vajrayāna* aspects of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

(b) Uttara Mālā Mantra :

We turn our attention now to the *Uttara Mālā Mantra.* We have already seen when we discussed about *Pūrva Mālā* how the composition of different Mystic syllables accompanied by purpose expressing compositions which appear as necklace-like or garland-like composition. In this sense, *Mālā Mantra* is derived its name from the meaning of the word "*mālā*" (garland) fully depending on the structure of their composition. The words which are imbibed in *uttara Mālā* are different from *Pūrva Mālā*. *Uttara Mālā* starts with the passages which end with *svāhā*. Then are '*Svāhā*' ending passages. The imperatives like *dāpaya* etc. are also used.

5. *Pañjara*

Next comes *Pañjara* which literally means 'cage'. The symbolic meaning of this composition is that the aspirant enters in the very existance of deity and feels himself well protected. If the devotee thinks that 'I enter in God' and 'I am permiated all over by God's existance', his protection is well assured.

Sometimes the *Pāñjara* contain elements of *Stotra* and *Kavaca*. According to the tradition, on some occasions the *Pañjara* is equated with *Hṛdaya*. It is said that this composition is important in the *Mantrānuṣṭhāna Kalpa* as the heart is the important centre of the body. So this composition is also called *hṛdaya*.

Hayagrīva Pañjara starts with a *dhyāna-stotra*.

This *Pañjara* is taught by the seer *Nārada* to *Vyāsa* for the welfare of the whole world.

This *Pañjara* is constitute part of the dialogue between *Vyāsa* and *Nārada*, mainly enunciated by *Nārada* in the *Nārada Purāṇa*.

In this text 12 mantras of *Hayagrīva* in the form of 12 *ślokas* are mentioned. *Nārada* addressed to *Vyāsa*: "Well O! the son of Satyavatī" your question is well asked. After going trough all *Āgama* texts, after examining deeply all the scriptures, after studying throughly all *Itihāsa*, after going through the *Purāṇas*, *Mantraśāstrās* and systems of Philosophy, I am trying to tell you, indeed the essence of everything. Please listen with great attention of the mind to this *Hayagrīva-Pañjara* which destroys the darkness of ignorance and causes inexhaustable good *(hita)* for the world, and produces the *Siddhi* of *Aṇimā* etc. It also dispells the great sin of killing a brahmin *(Brahmahatyā)* and also gives extrodinary good results. It provides the proficiency in literature and Music. With the powers of the recitation of this *Pañjara*, Brahmā obtained *Brahmatva*, *Kubera* obtained *Kuberatva* and *Bṛhaspati* obtained *Vācaspatya*.

Iconographically we have some details of the figure of *Hayagrīva* who appears in the middle of *Candramaṇḍala* seating himself on a lotus having conch shell *(Śaṁkha)* Disc *(cakra)* Rosary *(Akṣavalaya)* and Book *(Pustaka)* in his hands.

The quintassence of the composition establishes the conception of *Hayagrīva* primarily as a god of learning. Various addresses that are intended to praise the deity are indicative of the desire of the devotee to get wisdom in different forms. It seems the attainment of knowledge in its purest sense is a spirit of the praises, addresses and desires that are expressed. For example, *Hayagrīva* is described with the adjectives such as – "*jñānavijñānapūrita*", "*Vāgviṣayātītāgamāntanivāsa*", "*sākṣācchinmārga Vigraha*" etc.

The *Pañjara* is considered to be the essence of the *Vēda* itself. It is prescribed that it should be recited twenty **eight** times each day for eight weeks for good results.

Lastly it is stated that there is a long *Guru-Paramparā* of this *Pañjara*. Firstly *Brahmā* taught this secret *Pañjara* to all seers including myself. I taught this to all Gods, Indra etc. Oh *Vyāsa!* now I am teaching you, possessing and practicing regulative principles in life *(niyatavrata)*. I think that the whole world would be benifited by spreading this *Pañjara.*

The *Phalastuti* is as follows. By the reciation of this *Pañjara* itself everything is obtained in this world. One who is desirous of proficiency in speech (Vāk) should concentrate intensively on this glorious *Pañjara.*

6. *Stotra:*

Stotra, which literally means praise, tends to idealise and extol the good qualities in the human world. With regard to the ultimate reality in the personal form or the God Almighty, all the best infinite qualities *(anantakalyāṇguṇa)* are attributed to Him. *Stotra* usually contains the praise of different qualities of the presiding deity and also glorifies his noble deeds. The verb "*Namaḥ*", "*Vande*" etc. are used in this form of literature. Sometimes the series of words addressing the deity, as in the case of one hundred eight names *(aṣṭoṭṭaraśatanāma)* or one thousand names *(sahasranāma)* are contained in metrical *Stotra*-form. From these *Stotra* composition the *Aṣṭottaras* or *Sahasranāmas*, which are used in the process of worship *(ārādhanākalpa)*, are derived

In some instances, these stotras are to be found as the constituent parts of *Purāṇic* literature. For example, one of the *Hayagrivastotra* is found in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa.* Sometimes these stotras are composed by the great devotees of ancient and modern periods.

We know that the famous *Vaiṣṇavācārya* Vedānta Deśika is a well nown devotee of *Hayagrīva*. He composed a popular *Hayagriva-Stotra* which is a hymn containing 32 Stanzas, mostly of the *Upajāti* Metre. He extolls *Hayagriva* in this widely known composition as the great deity of light and learning. It is probably the first work of Vedāntadeśika as a poet. It was composed during the authors sojourn at Tiruvahīndrapuraṁ near Caddalur in the State of Tamil Nadu. A vistor to Tiruvahīndrapuraṁ is shown even to-day the seat where Vedāntadeśika sat and composed and recited the *Stotra.* This Hymn is recited by the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* of Tiruvahīndrapuram during the *Brahmotsava*-festival. The devoted *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* have a great regard for this Hymn as they take it to be the poetic idealisation of the esoteritism of the *Hayagrīva-stotra.* The expressions like *Saṁāhāraḥ sāmnāṁ* and *svataḥ siddhaṁ* etc. are very favourite with the poet as he reproduces them more than once in his other works. It seems the poet himself liked his juvenile poetic composition. Mahākāya, the famous *Teṅgalai* critic and philosopher, seems to be very fond of this Hymn as he highly appriciates it in his *Vaibhava Prakāśikā.* The Hymn has been commented upon by Velamuru Śrīnivāsacharya and Śrīśaila Tirumalai Nambi Raghavacharya in Sanskrit. Its Tamil interpretation by Kuruchi Gopālatatacharya and Venkatācharya are also well-known.

As the name *Hayagrīvastotra* suggests that it is a Hymn on *Hayagrīva,* the presiding deity of learning and also the object of worship *(Upāsyadaiva)* of *Vedāntadeśika* who worshipped the Lord in this form throughout his life. For him the God of learning *Hayagrīva* is the indweller of his heart, the soul of his Soul and the inner ruler immortal. These are many ways in which the poet worships *Hayagrīva* in this Hymn.

To his mind, the God of learning as the divine light to lead him on the path of Virtue, truth and happiness. Then he sees Him in the form of a preceptor or a Guru who lights the lamp of knowledge in the heart of the descipls with the spark of his own wisdom. With much devotional emotion and poetic imagination the author composes his Hymn with which he began his literary career.

There are *Hayagriva* stotras written by a great devotee *Vādirāja* of *Madhva*-tradition. Here we have to mention that the *Hayagrīva* cult not only popular among *Śrīvaiṣṇavas* but also this has a hold on the great religious leaders in the *Madhva* tradition, *Madhvācārya, Rāghavendrasvāmi* of *Mantrālaya* in addition to the above mentioned *Vādirāja.*

We have a *stotra* called *Vākpatitva Lakṣhmī Stava* written by Anantadīkṣita where the Goddess Lakshmī is praised for getting the mastery over speech *(Vākpatitva)*. We have no further detailed information regarding this author. This *Stotra* has the usual features of *Mantrāṅgās* in the middle.

This composition is full of mystical syllabls the purpose of this *stava* is nothing but the gain of knowledge in different forms.

A mention has to be made here regarding Sri Krishna Brahma Tantra Parakāla Yatīndra's *Hayagrīva Prābodhika Stuti.*

We have some more stotras of very recent origion (1920). *Hayagriva Prātaḥ smaraṇa Stotram* written by Chi. Sow: Kauta Lalitamohan published in 'Andhra Prabha' (7-2-1960). We have *Maṅgala Ślokas* written by Sriman Ananta Padmanabhacharya of Machilipatnam and verses written by Paṇḍit Parasaram Venkata Ramacharya and the stotras of Bellamkoṇḍarāmārāya

We find also a number of recent *stotras* dedicated to *Hayagrīva.*

* * *

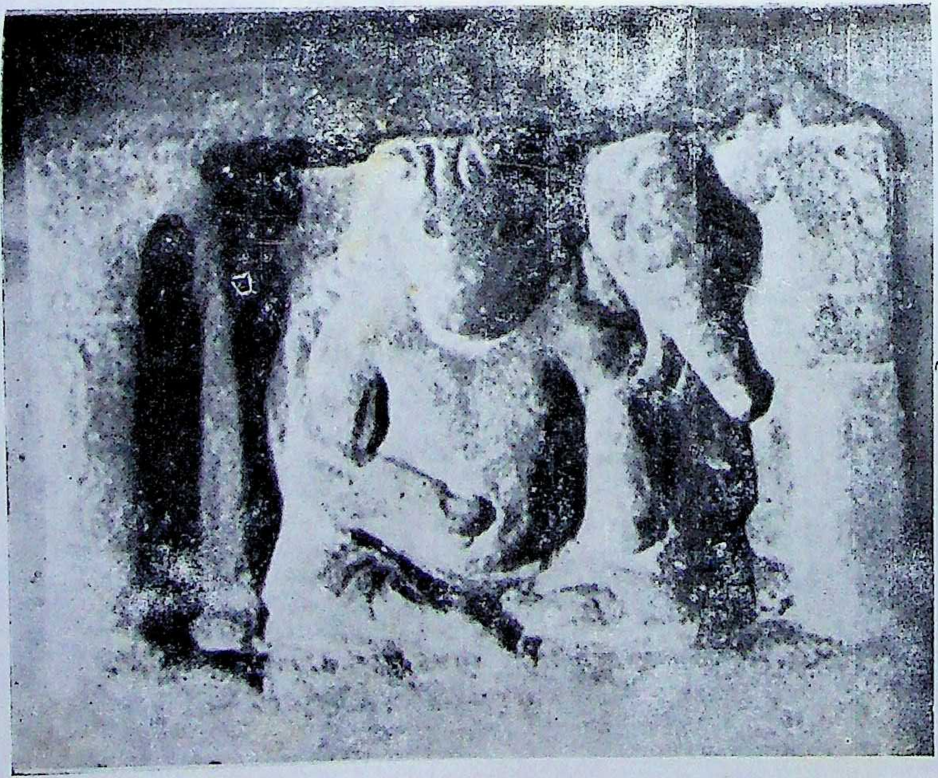


Fig. 1: Pre-Gupta Hayagrīva apparently hailing from Mathura.
[By courtesy: Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanaśi]

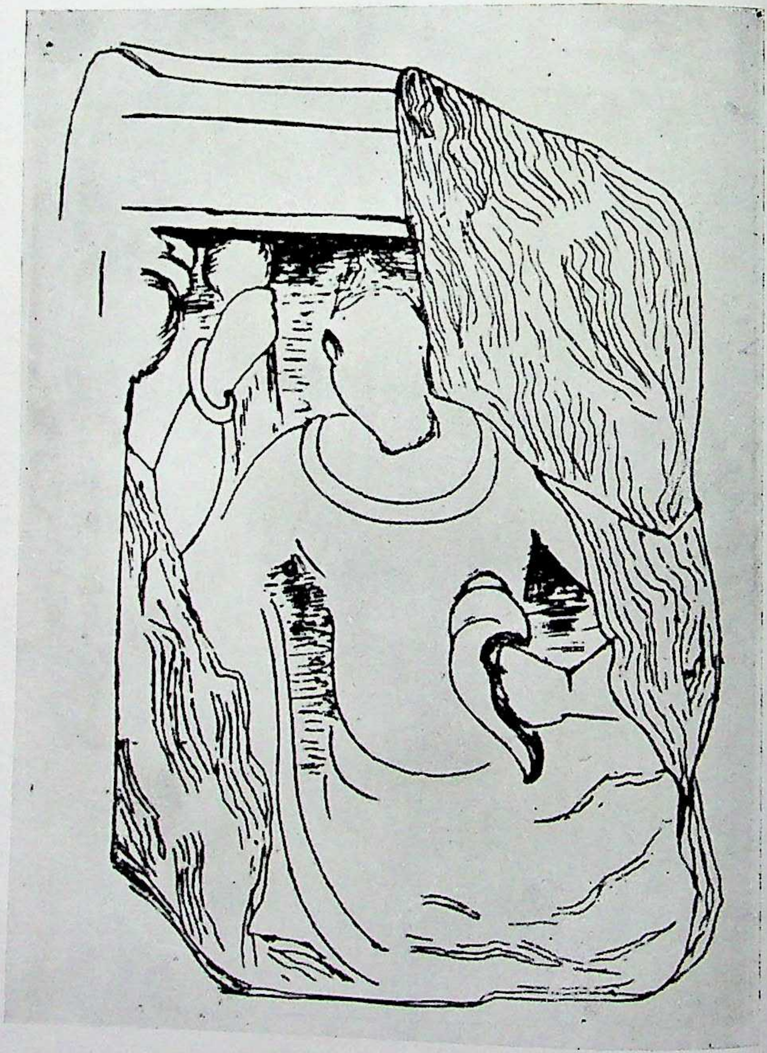


Fig. 2: Hayagrīva of the Gupta Period
[By courtesy : Govt. Museum, Mathura]

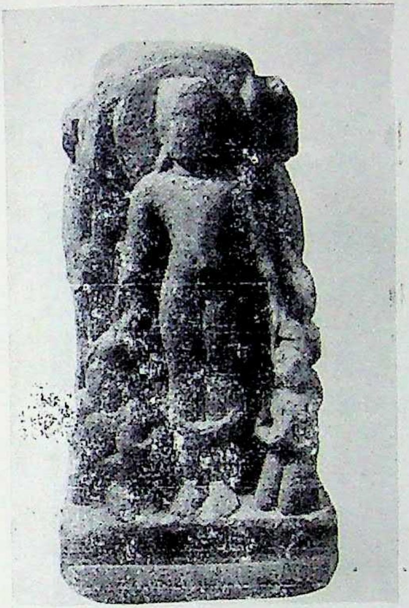


Fig. 3(a) : Viṣṇu with human face
(Ist side)

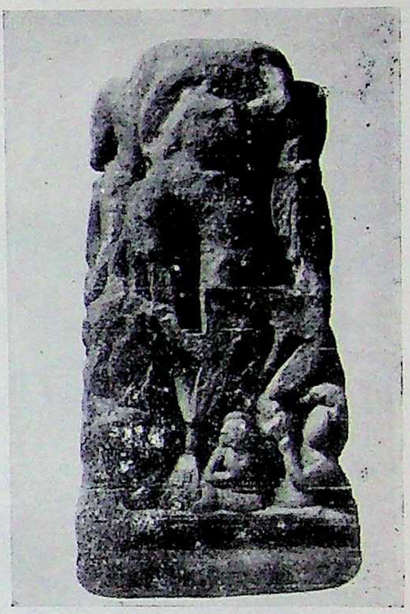


Fig. 3(b) : Viṣṇu–Varāha
[IInd side]

[By courtesy : Staatlisehe Museen Preussischen Kulturbesitz,
Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (West)]

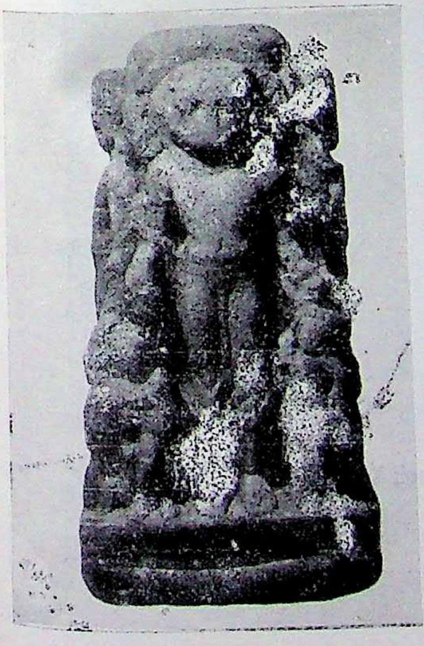


Fig. 3(c) : Viṣṇu–Narasimha
(IIIrd side)

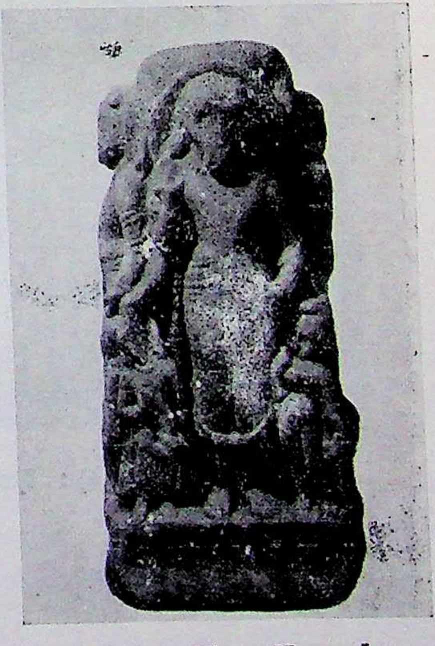


Fig 3(d) : Viṣṇu–HayagrIva
(IVth side)

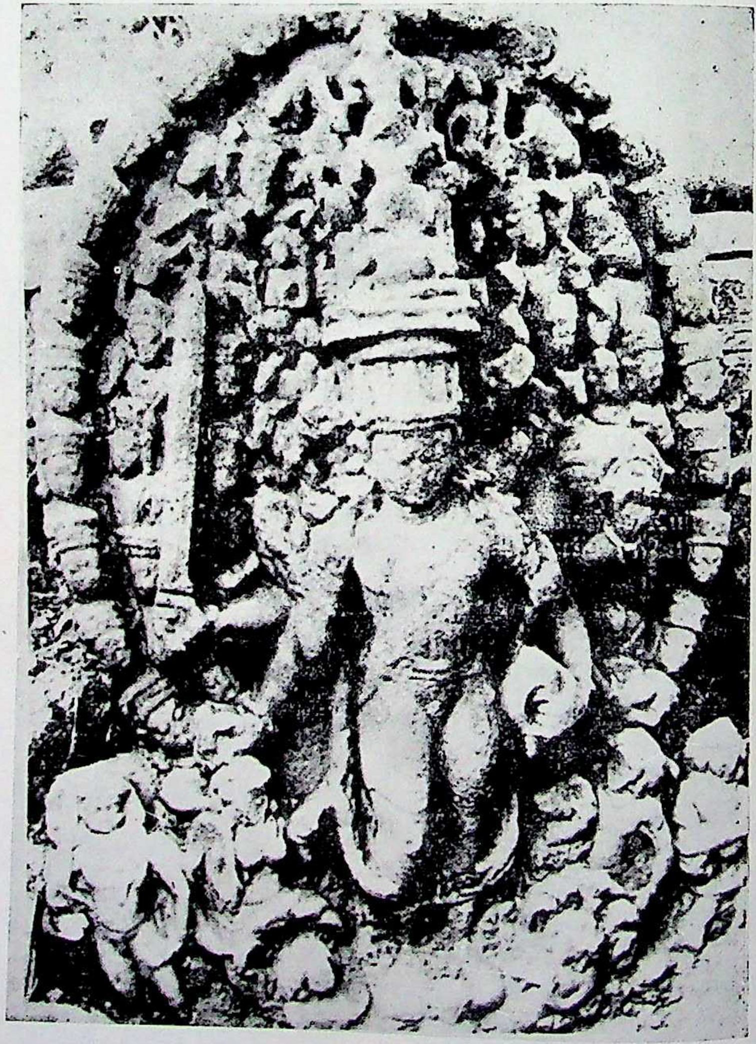


Fig. 4(a) : Deogarh Viśvarūpa

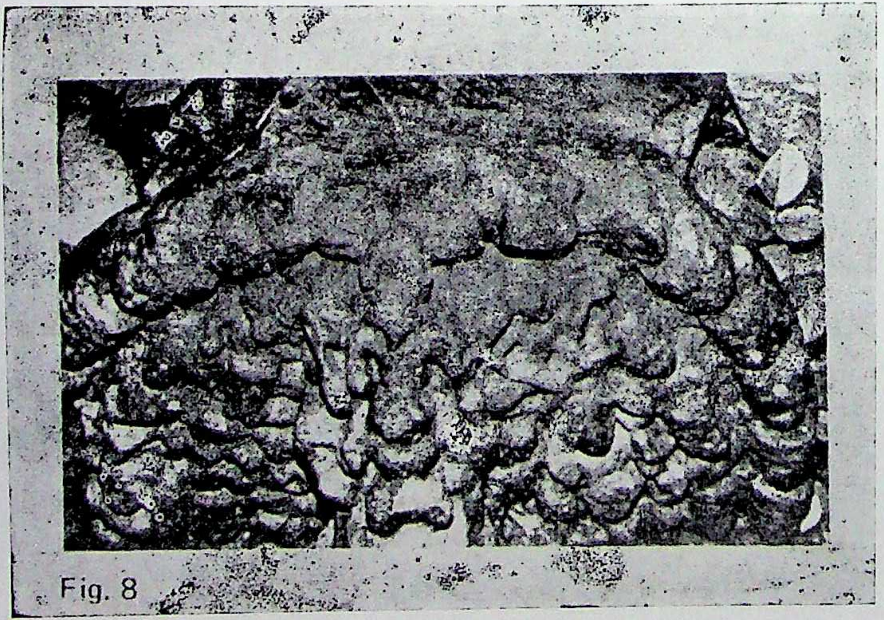


Fig. 8

Fig. 4(b) : Hayagrīva detail in Deogarh Viśvarūpa

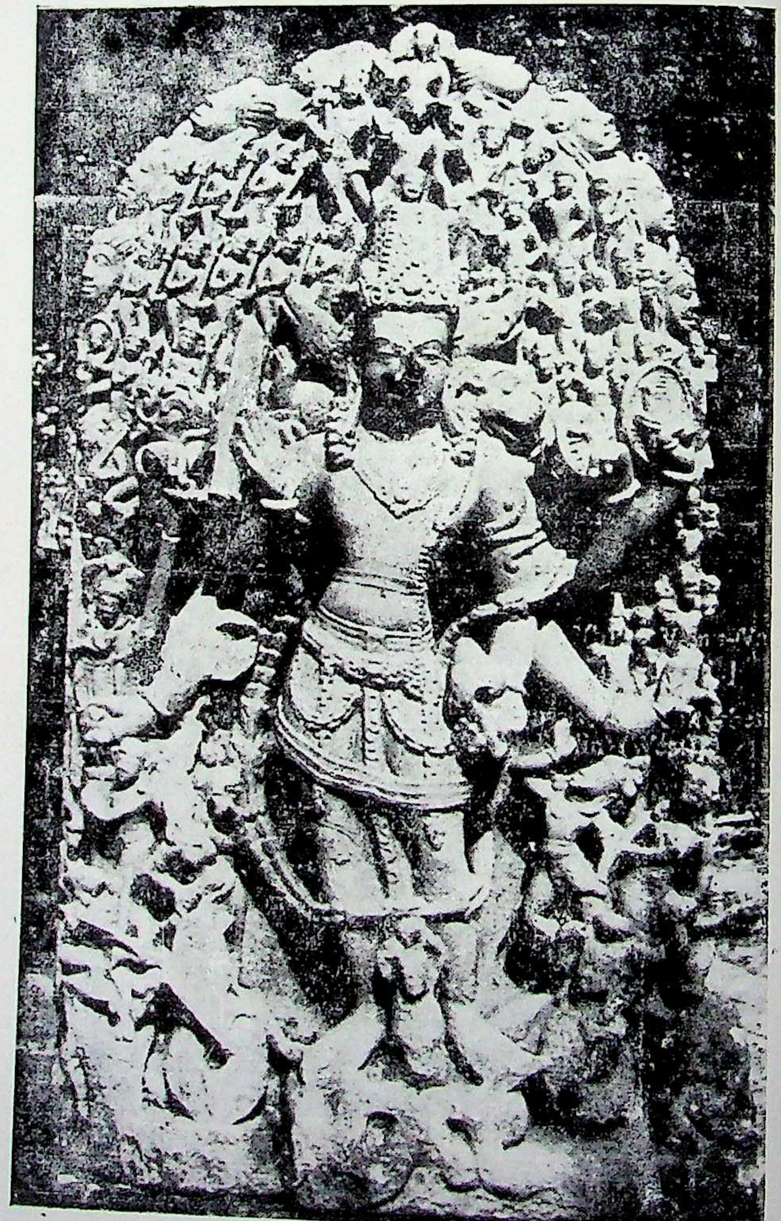


Fig. 4(c) : Viśvarūpa, Kanauj, Pratihāra Period, 8th Century A.D.

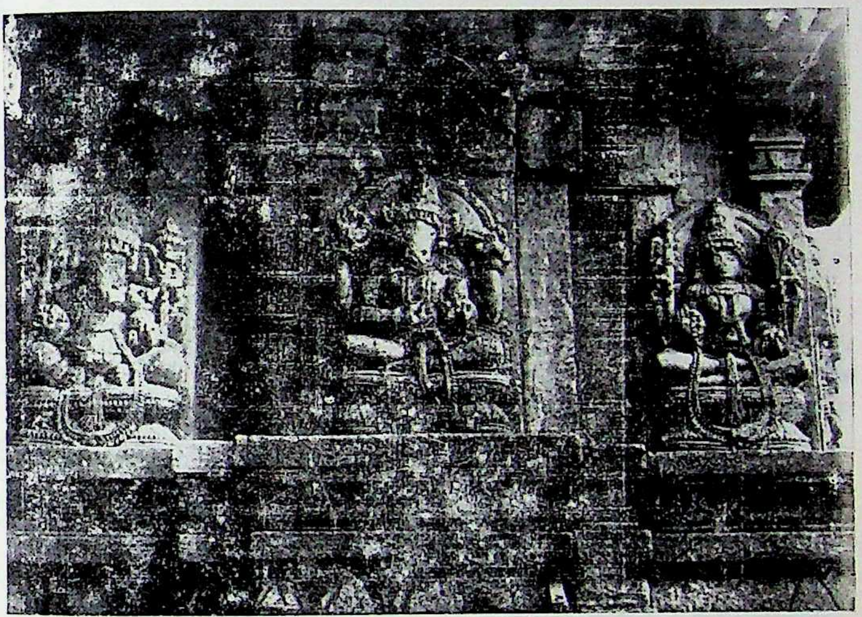
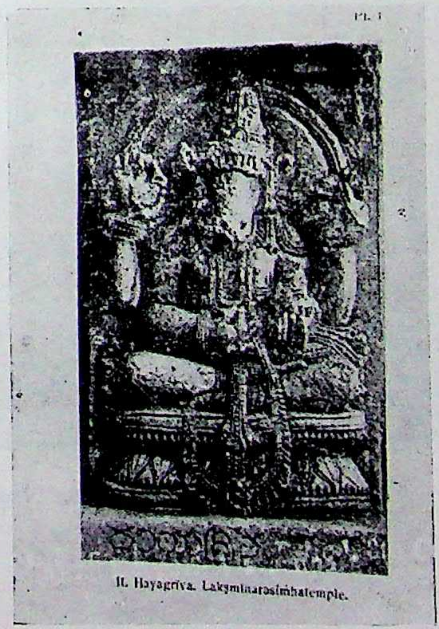


Fig. 5(a) : Seated Hayagrīva, Nuggahalli.



Pl. I
II. Hayagriva. Lakṣminarasimhatemple.

Fig. 5(b) : Details of the seated Hoyasala Hayagrīva, Nuggahalli.

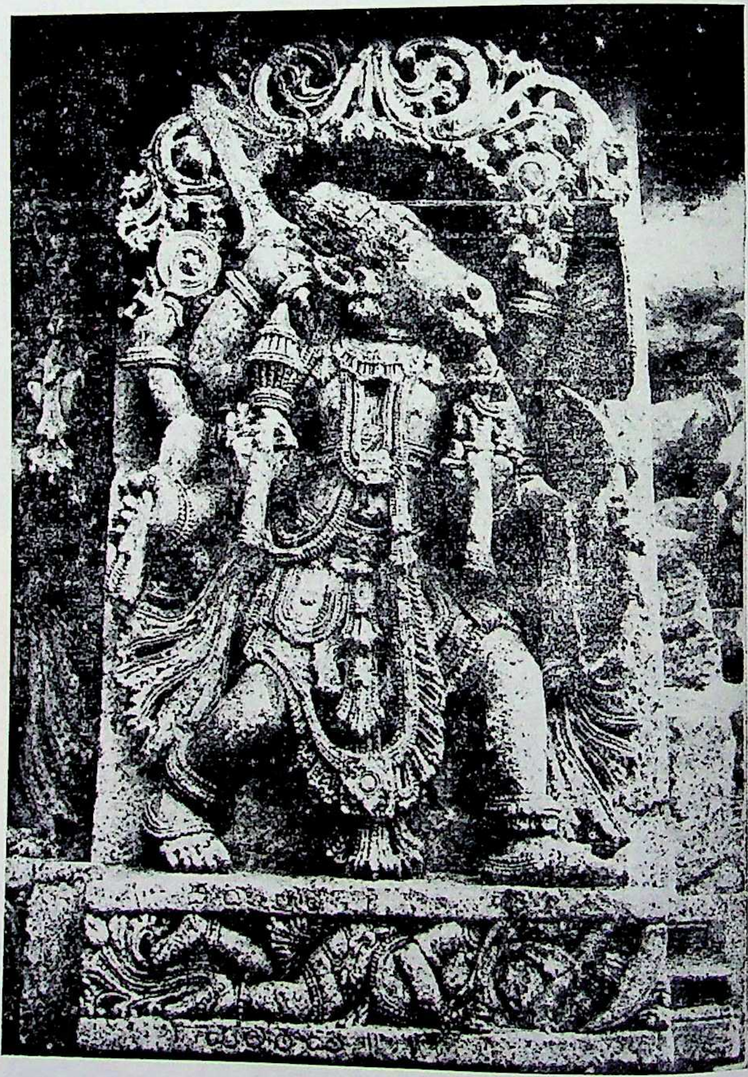


Fig. 6 : Militant Hoyasala Hayagrīva, Nuggahalli.

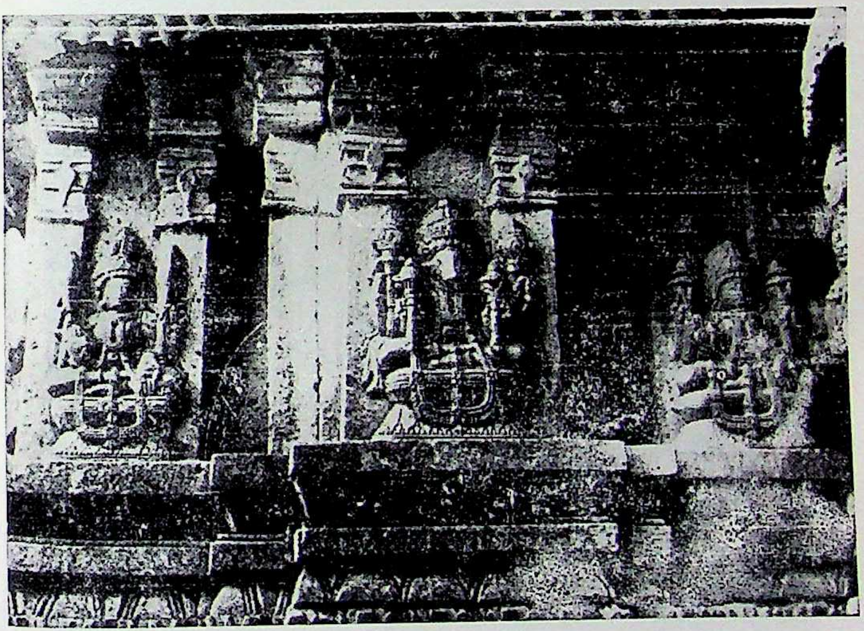


Fig. 7 : Seated Hoyasala Hayagrīva, Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Temple, Nuggahalli.

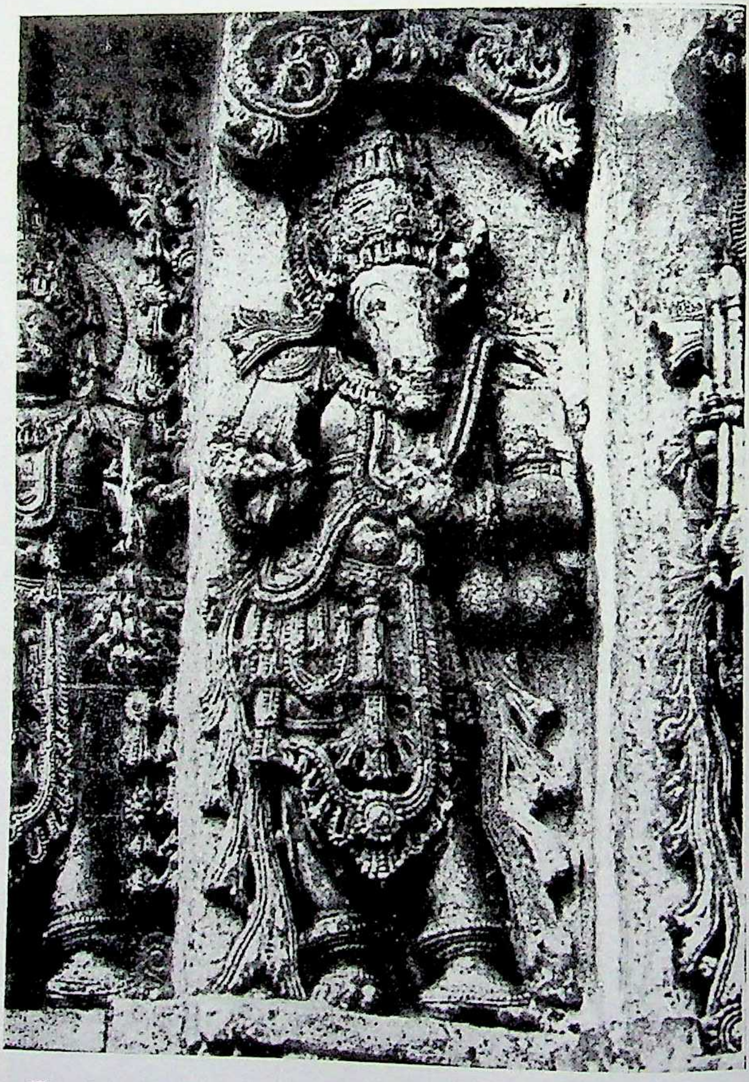


Fig. 8 : Standing benign HayagrIva of the Hoyasala period, Lakṣmīnarasimha Temple, Nuggahalli.

[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]

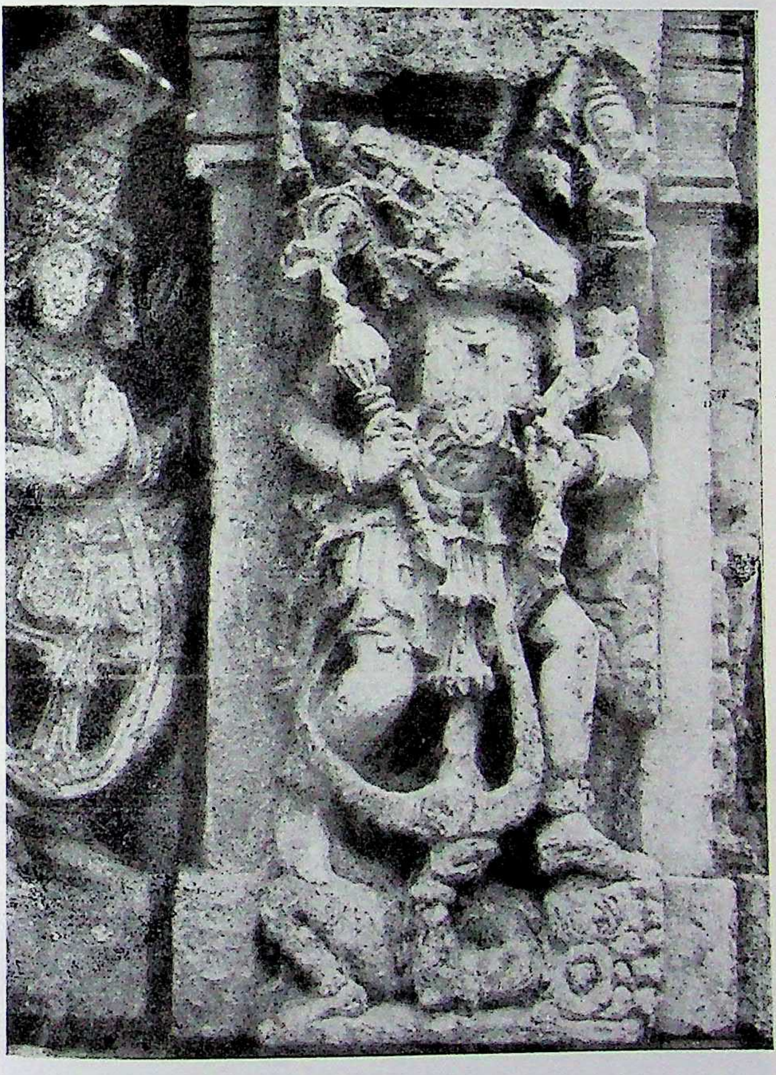


Fig. 9 : Hayagrīva, Vīrabhadra Temple, Halibid.

[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology. Pondicherry]

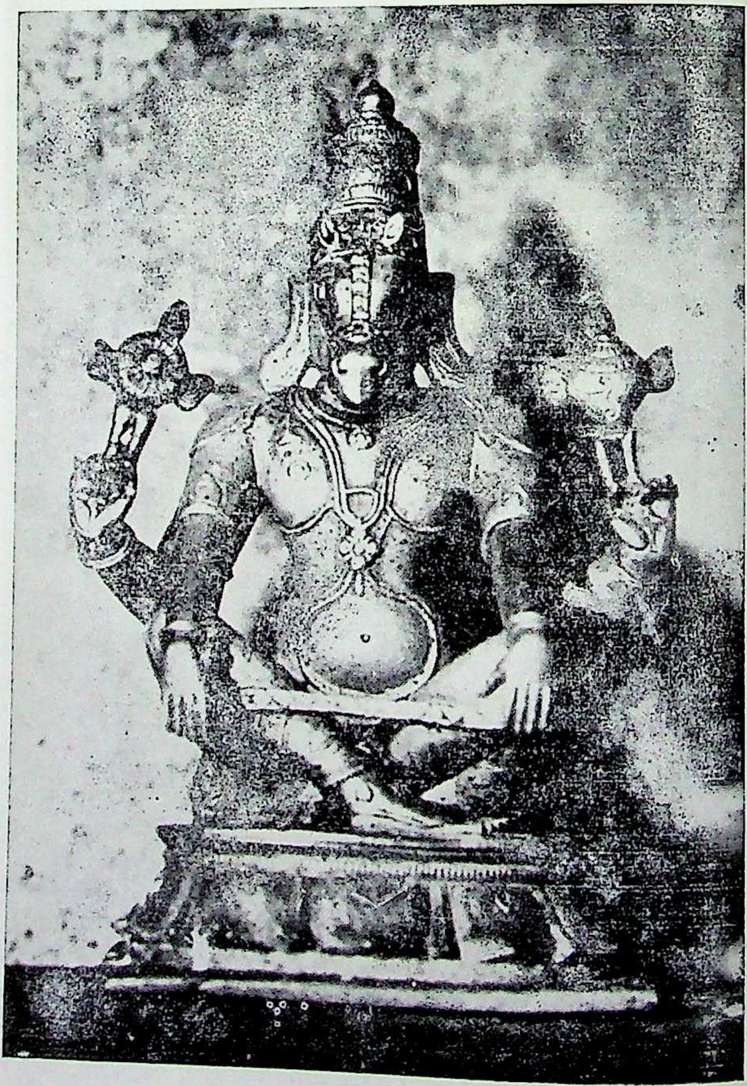


Fig. 10 : Yoga-Hayagrīva with Yoga-Paṭṭa, Tiruvendipuram

[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]

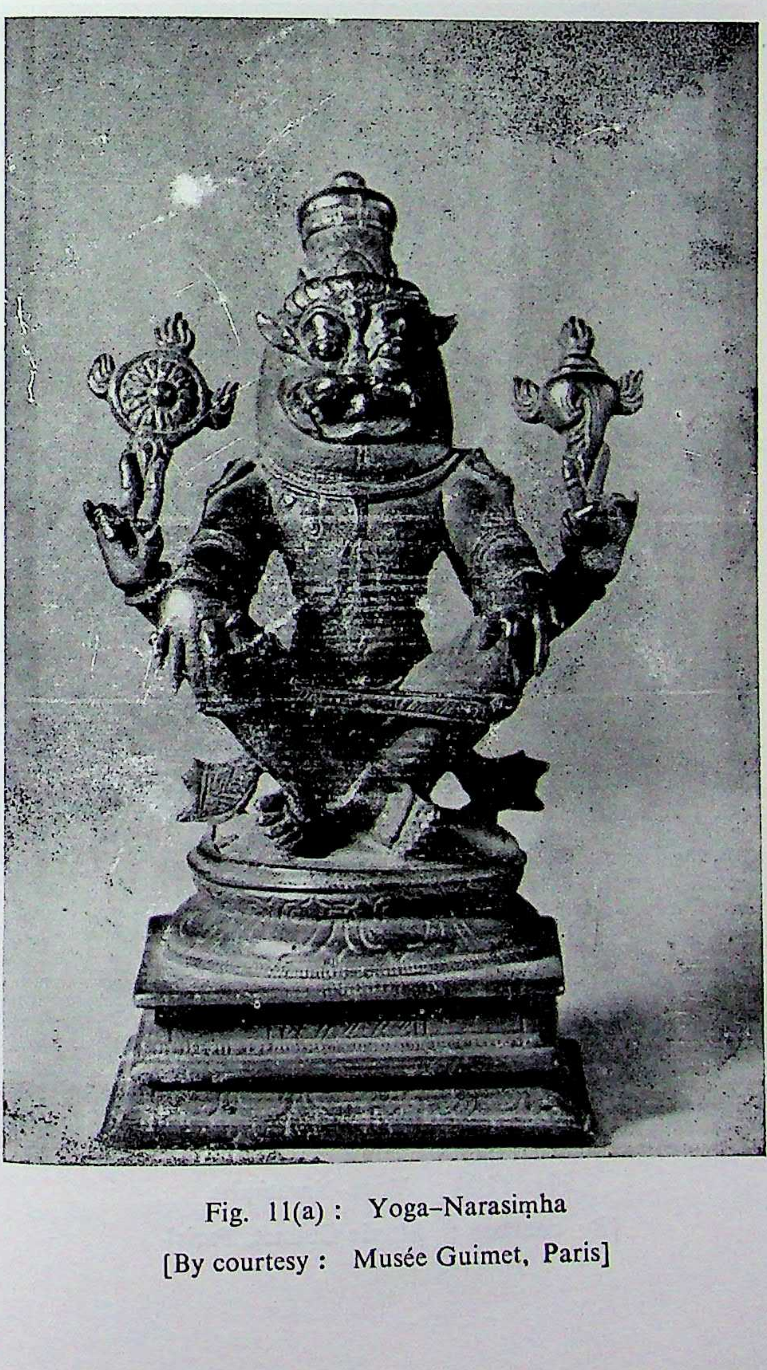


Fig. 11(a) : Yoga–Narasiṃha

[By courtesy : Musée Guimet, Paris]

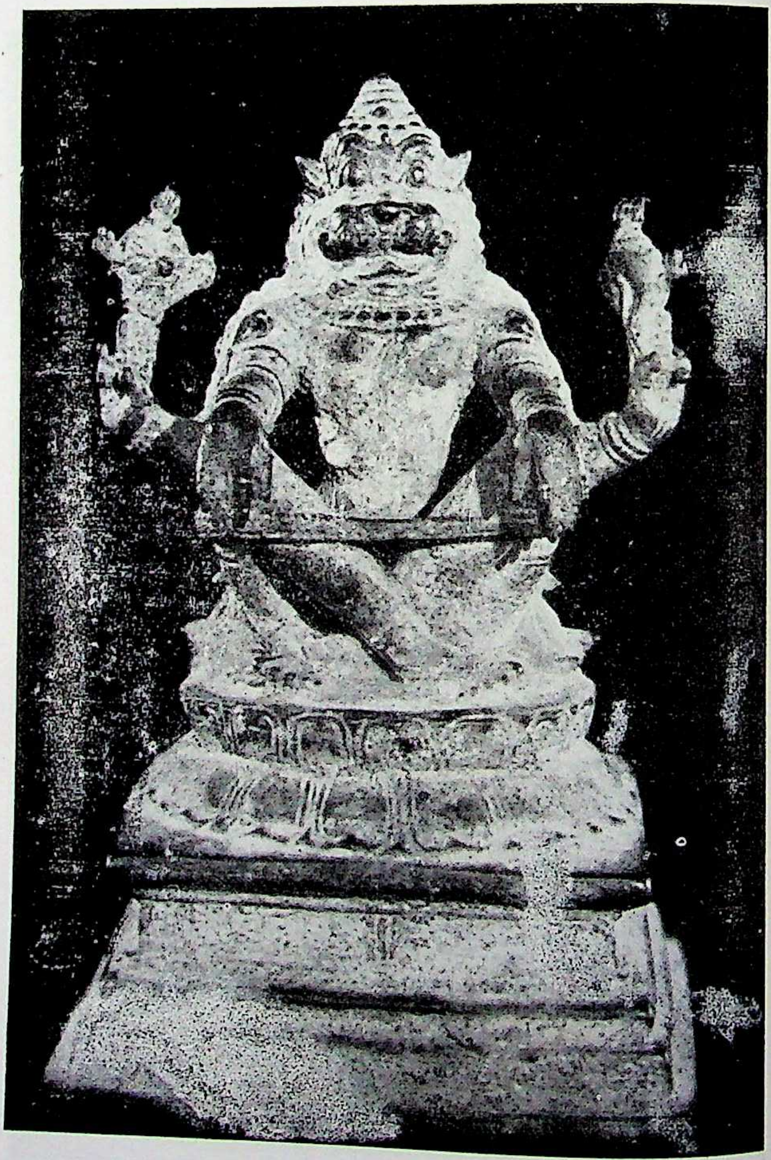


Fig. 11(b) Yoga–Narasiṃha
[By courtesy : Musée Guimet, Paris]

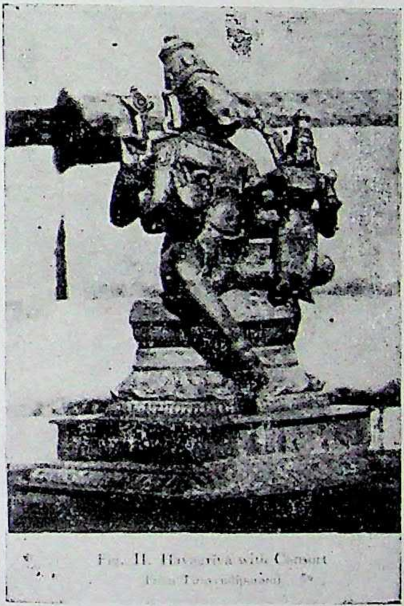


Fig. 11. Hayagriva with Consort

Fig. 12(a) : Hayagrīva with his Consort Lakṣmī, Tiruvendipuram

[By courtesy: French Institute of Idology, Pondicherry]

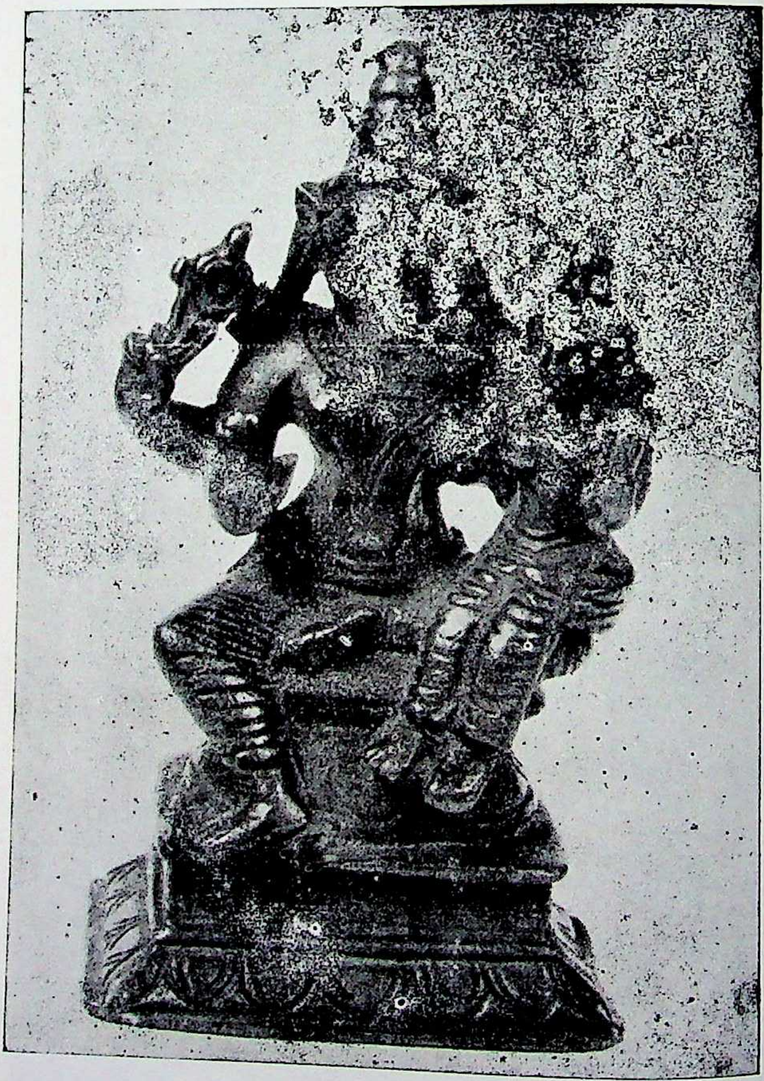
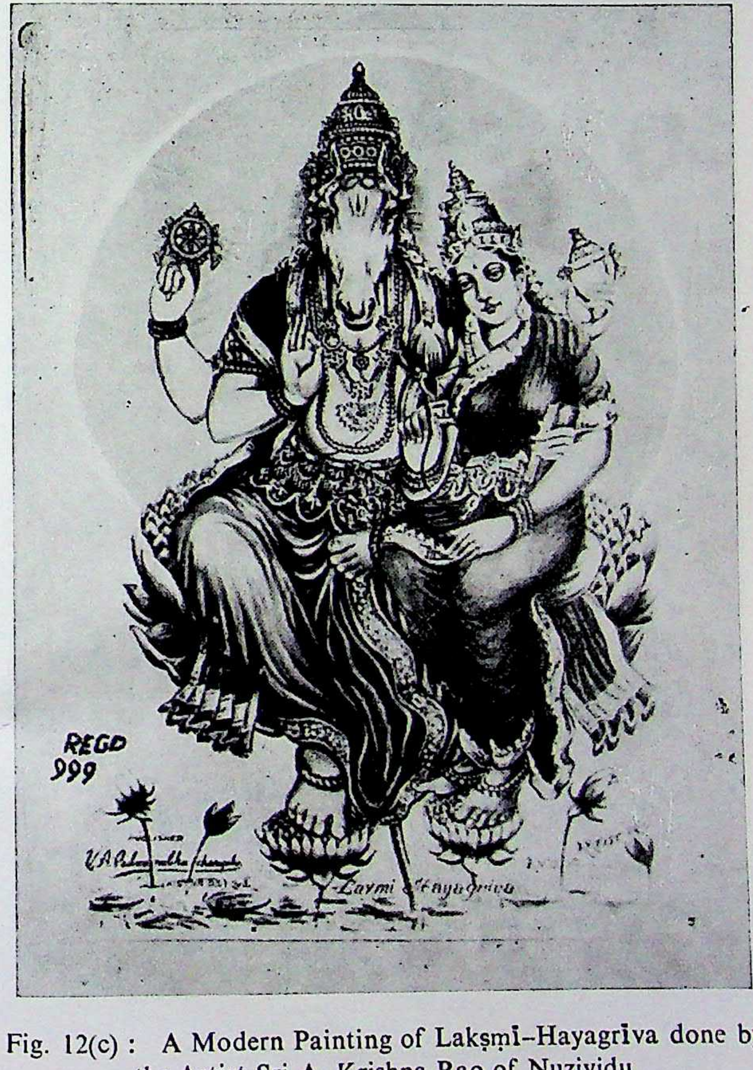


Fig. 12(b) : Lakṣmī–Hayagrīva – A small metal figure in the collection of Berlin Museum.

[By courtesy : Museum for Indian Art, Dalem, Berlin (West)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Laxmi Hayagriva

Fig. 12(c) : A Modern Painting of Lakṣmī–Hayagrīva done by the Artist Sri A. Krishna Rao of Nuzividu

[By courtesy : Sri V.A. Padmanabhacharyulu, a Hayagrīva devotee under whose direction the Painting was made]

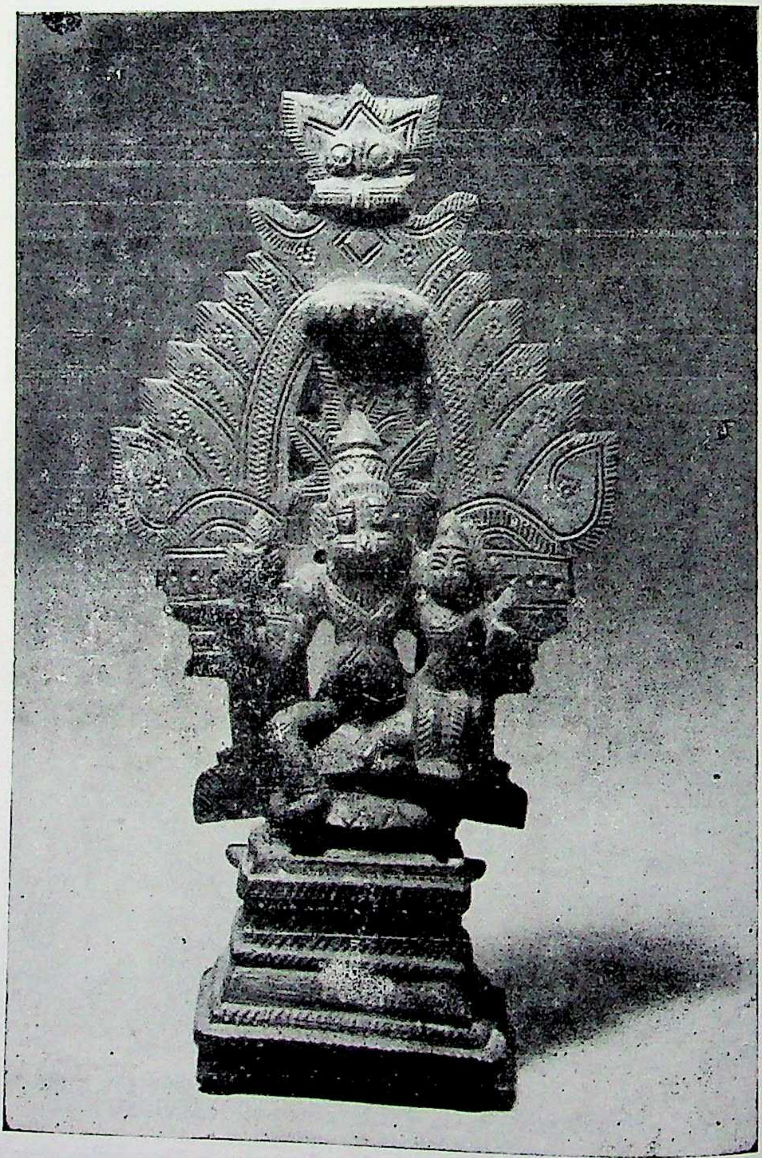


Fig. 13 : An example of Lakṣmī–Narasiṃha image

[By curtesy : Musée Guimet, Paris]

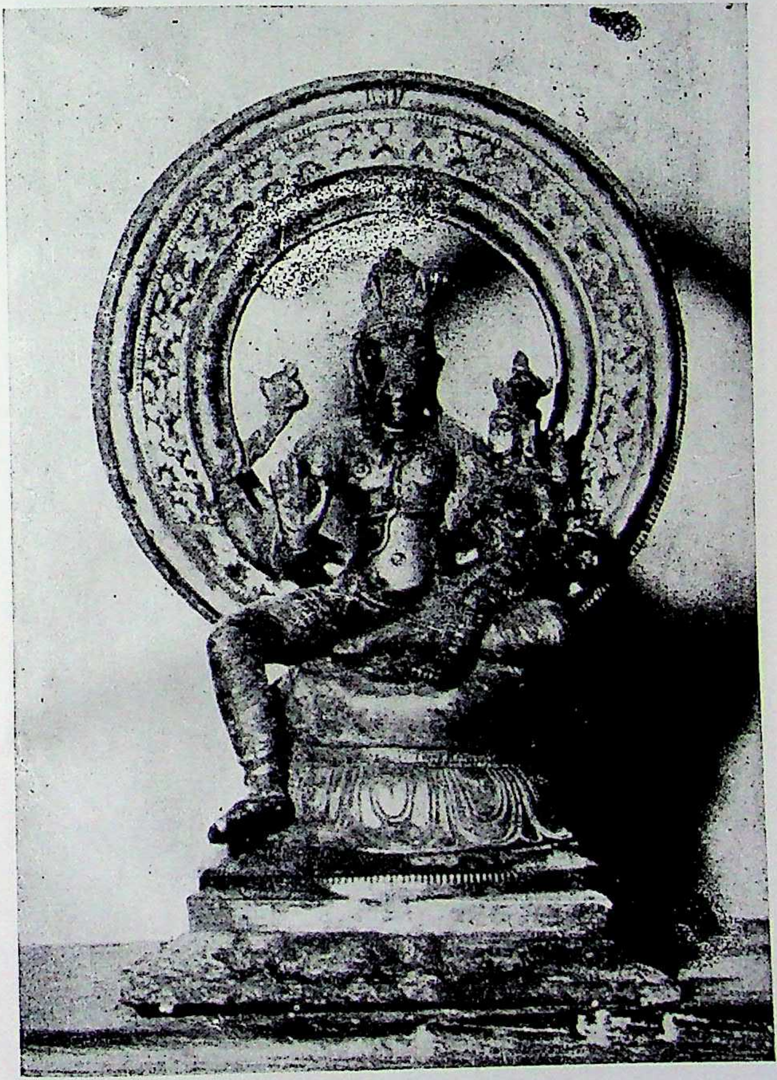


Fig. 14 : Lakṣmī–Hayagrīva, Sri Varāhaperumāl Temple, Kumbakōnam.

[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]

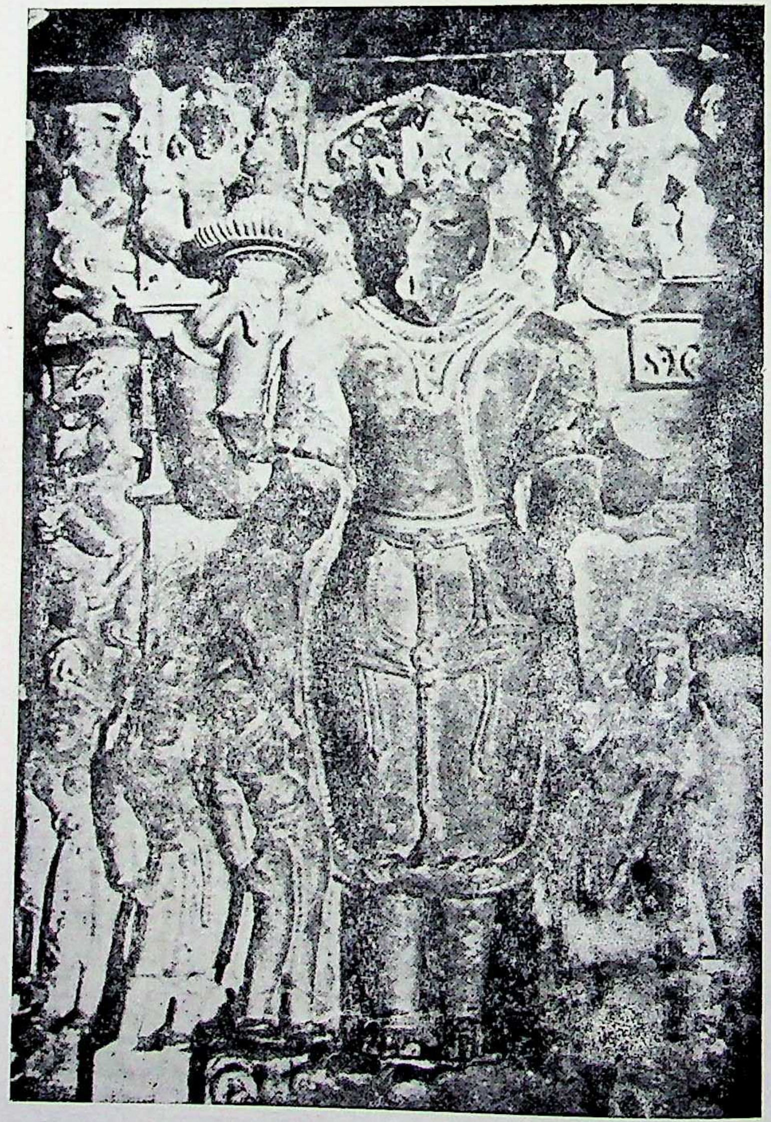


Fig. 15: HayagrIva, Lakṣmaṇa Temple, Khujuraho.

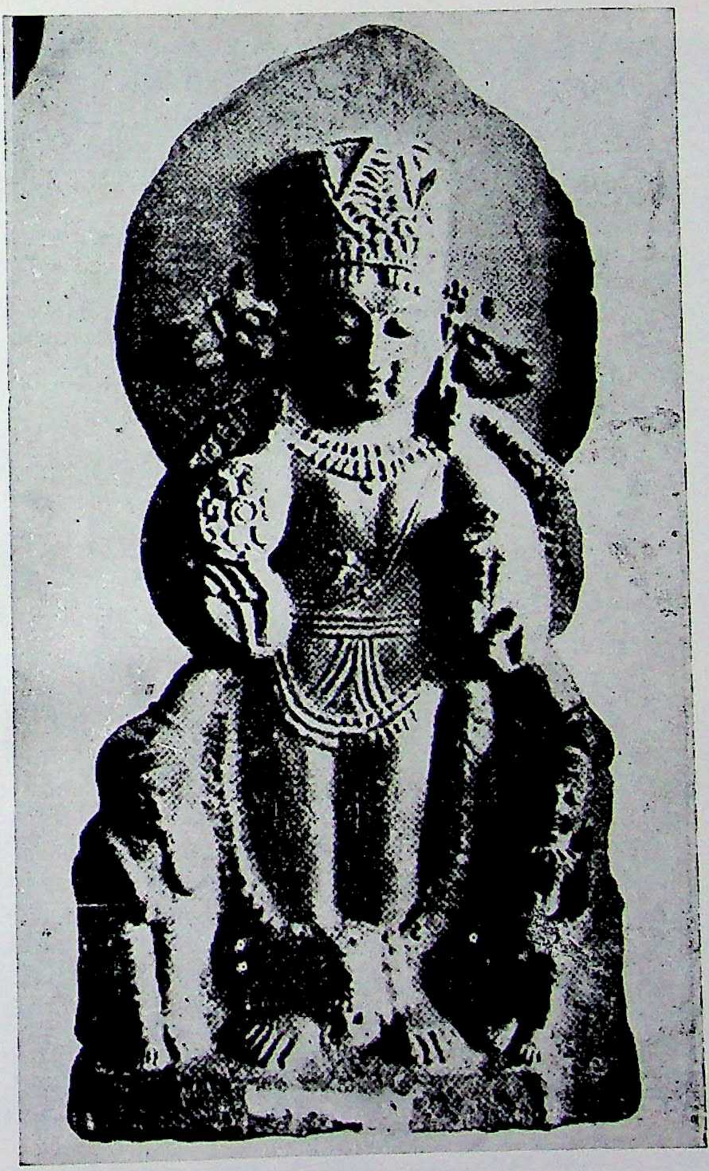


Fig. 16 : Aśvamukha in a Vaikuṇṭha–Viṣṇu Image from Kashmir

[By courtesy : Srinagar Museum, Kashmir]

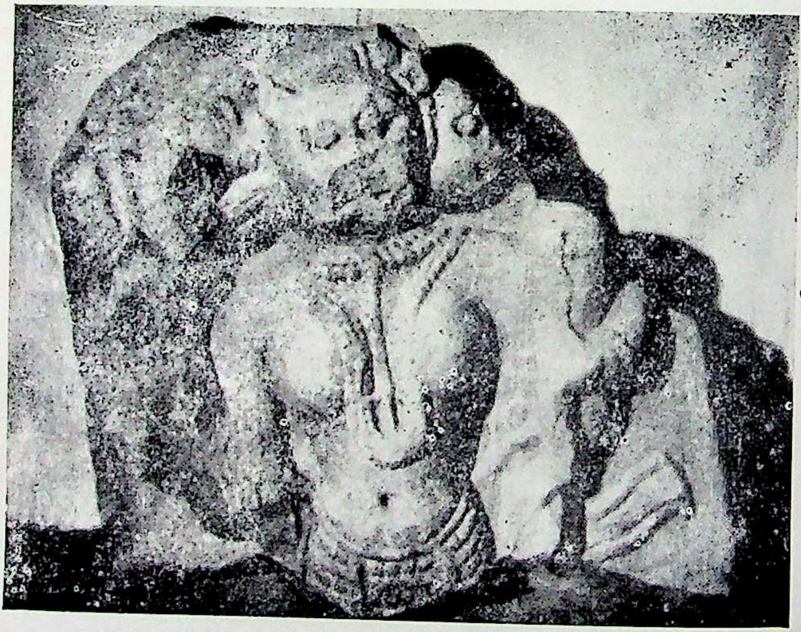


Fig. 17 : Hayagrīva–Śakti in the Vaikuṇṭha Image, 12th Century
[By courtesy : Site Museum of the Sahasralinga lake, Patan, Gujarat]

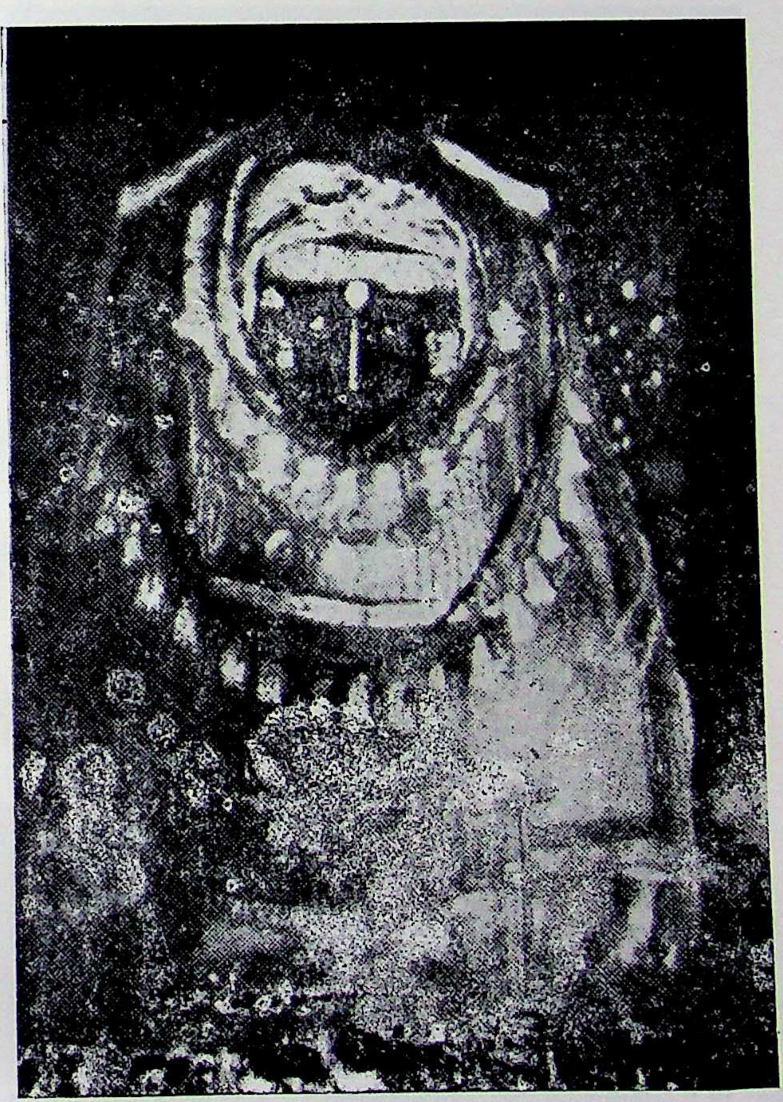


Fig. 18 : Hayagrīva-Mādhava, Hajo, near Gauhati, Assam.

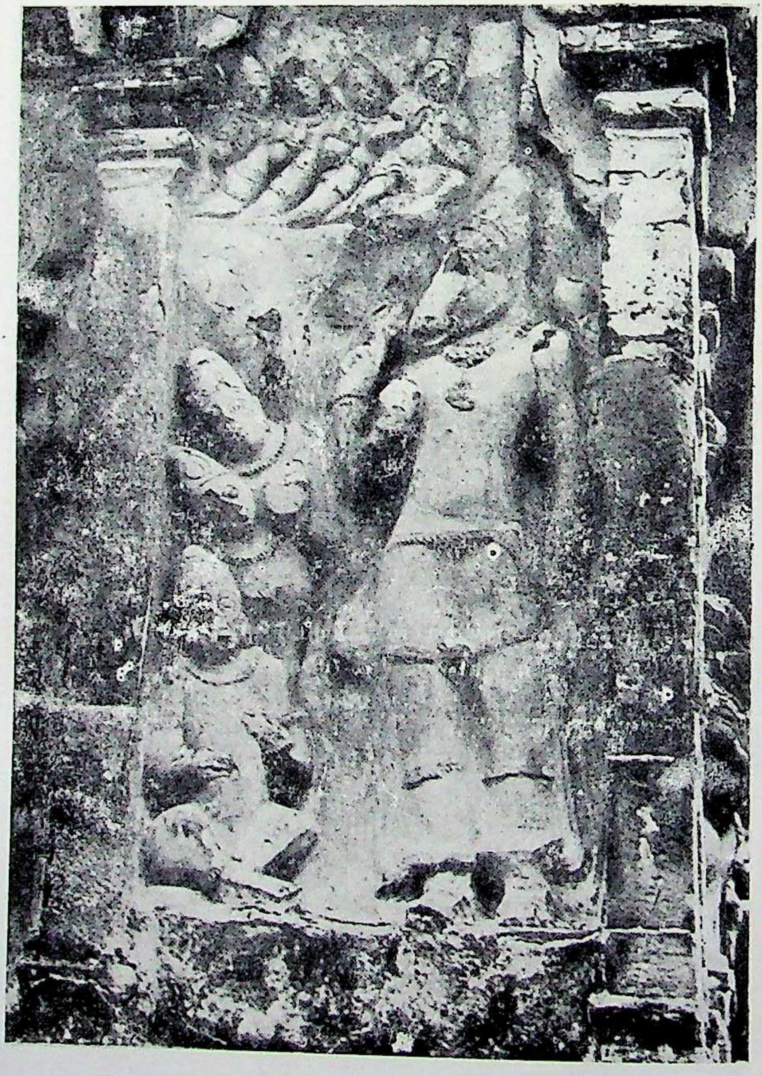


Fig. 19 : HayagrĪva, Sri Vaikunṭaperumal Temple, Kanchipuram.
[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]

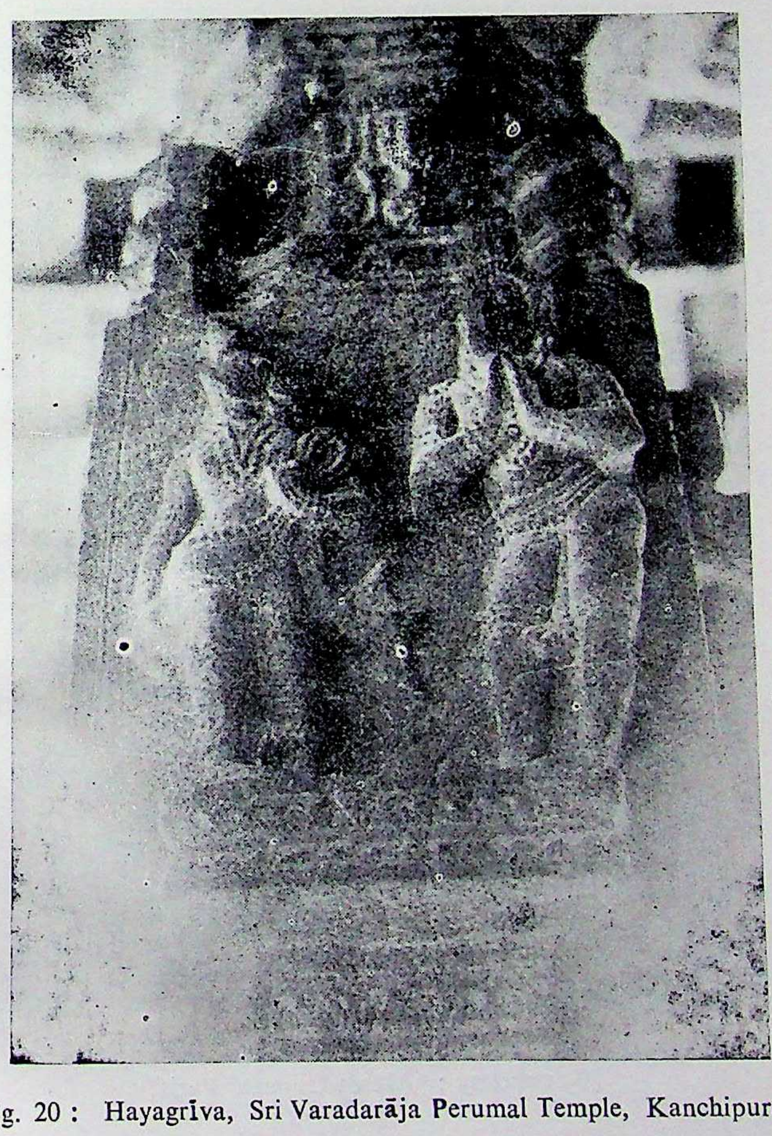
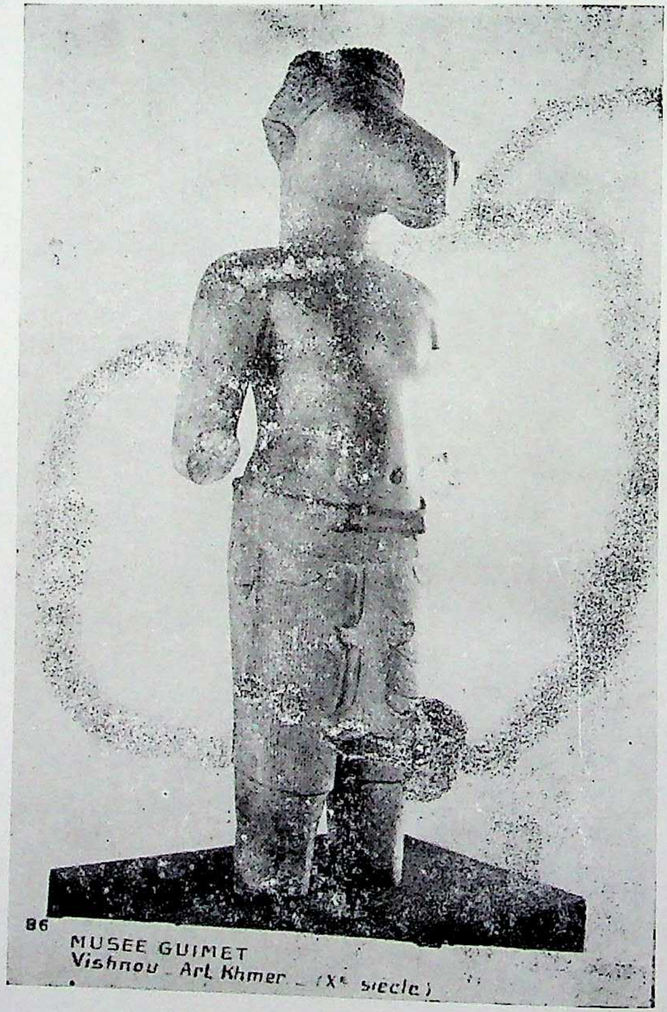


Fig. 20 : Hayagrīva, Sri Varadarāja Perumal Temple, Kanchipuram.
[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]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Vishnou . Art Khmer _ (Xe siecle)

Fig. 21(a) : HayagrIva–Viṣṇu, Khmer.
[By courtesy : Musée Guimet, Paris]

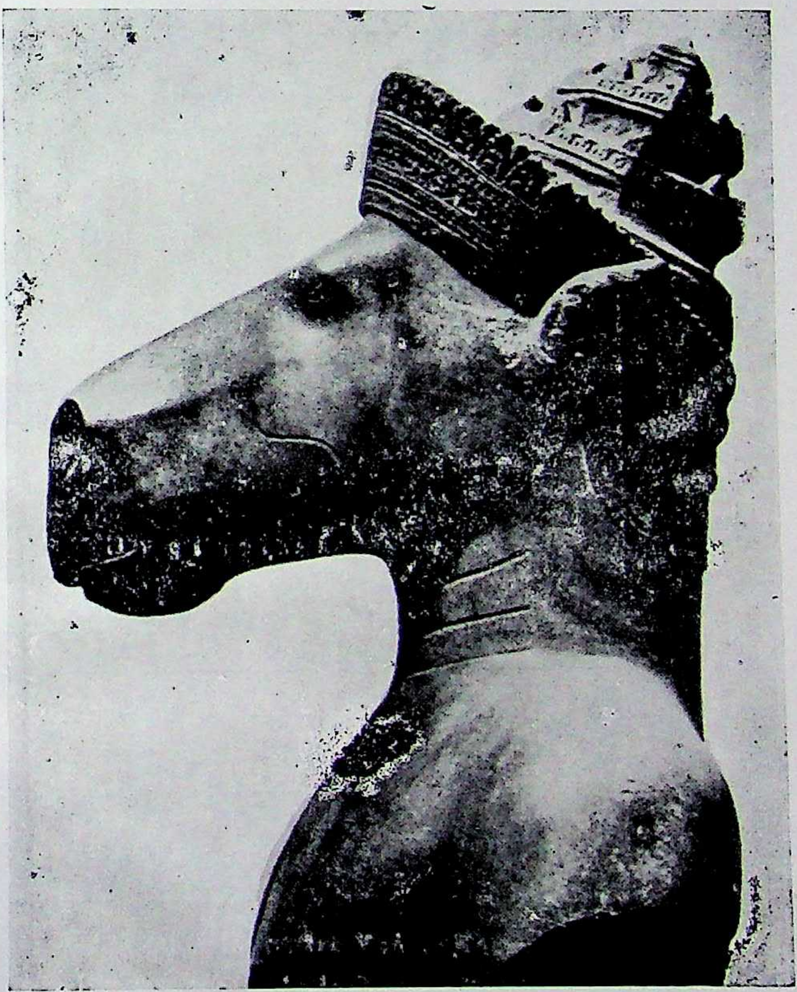


Fig. 21(b): Close-up of Hayagrīva-Viśṇu, Khmer.

[By courtesy: Musée Guimet, Paris]

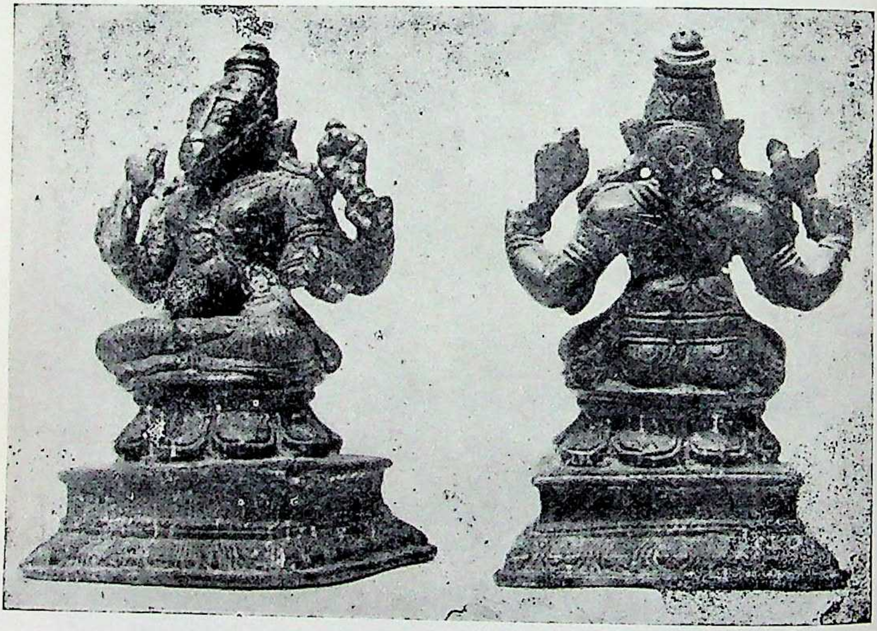


Fig. 22(a) : Two views of dark bronze figure of Hayagrīva, Madhya Pradesh, Central India.

[By courtesy : MUSE, Annual of the Museum of Art & Archeology, University of Missouri. Colembia, USA]

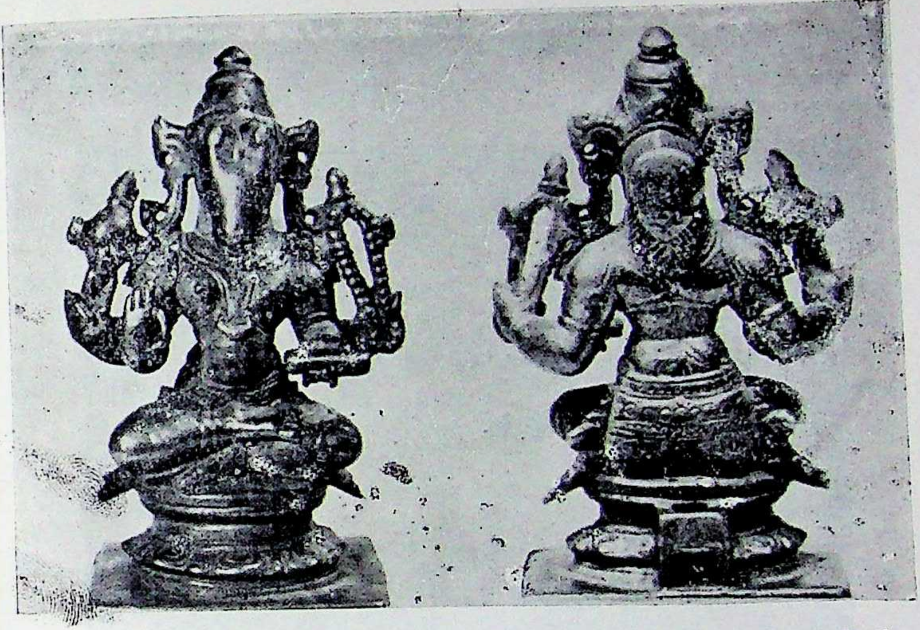


Fig. 22(b) : Front & back of Brass Figure of Hayagrīva from South India.
[By Courtesy : MUSE, Annual of Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Colembia, USA]

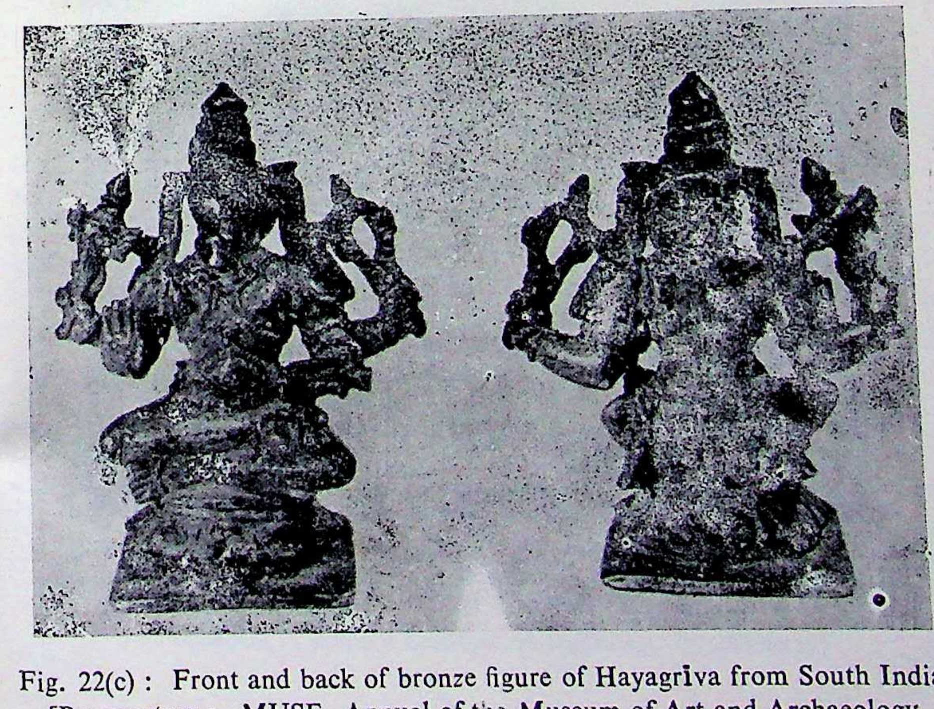


Fig. 22(c) : Front and back of bronze figure of Hayagrīva from South India,
[By courtesy : MUSE, Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Colembia, USA]

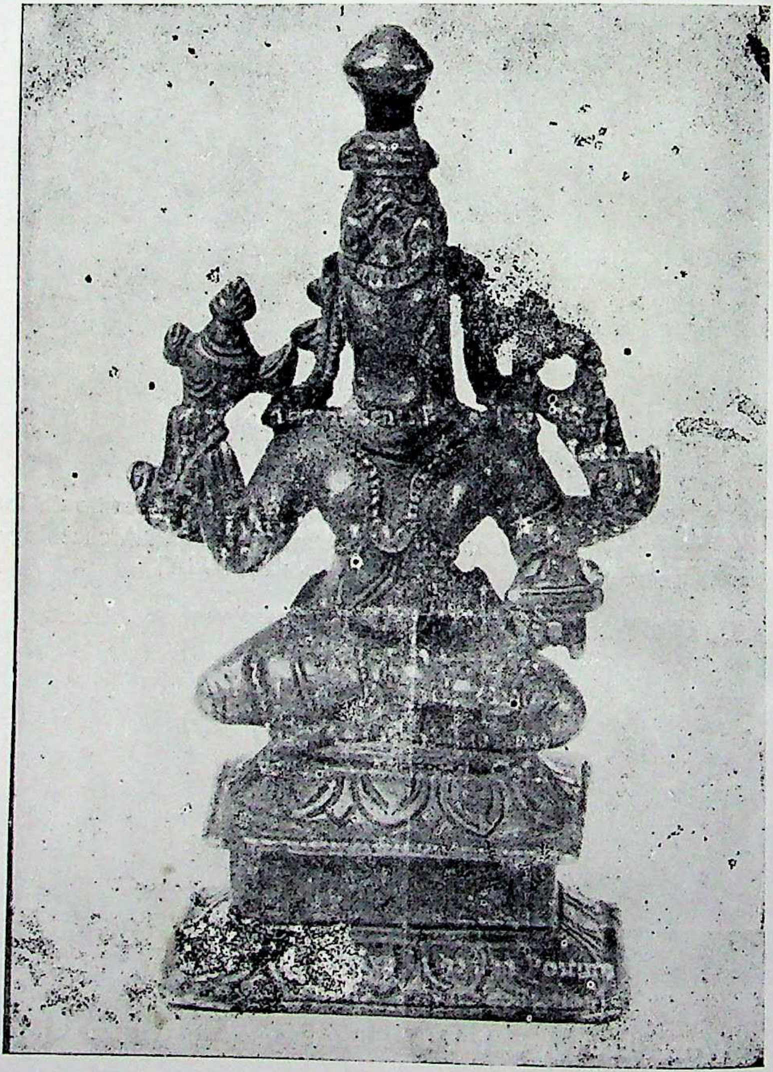


Fig. 23 : A seated metal image of benign Hayagrīva

[By courtesy : Staatlische Museen Preussis hen Kulturbestiz, Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (West)]

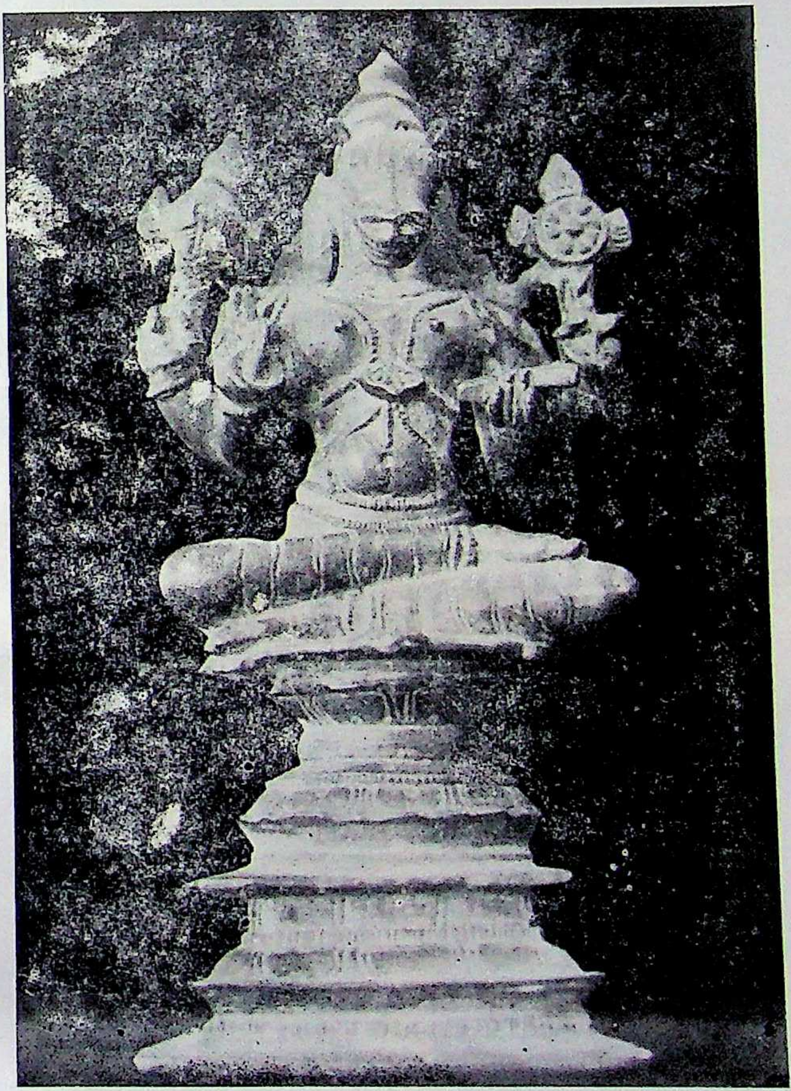
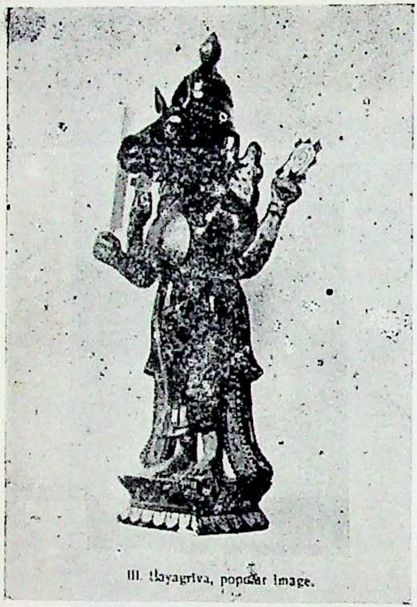


Fig. 24 : Hayagrīva in benign Posture
(Pondicherry State, Private collection)

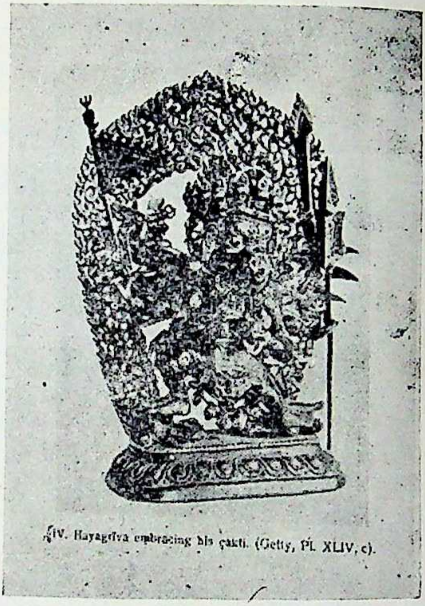
[By courtesy : French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry]



III. Hayagrīva, popular image.

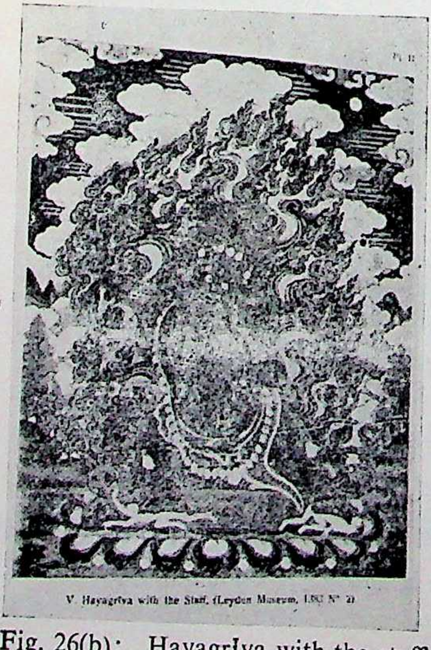
Fig. 25: A wooden standing Hayagrīva, a popular image

[A reproduction from the book, R.H. Gulik's The Mantrayānn aspect of Horse-cult in China and Japan Leiden, 1935]



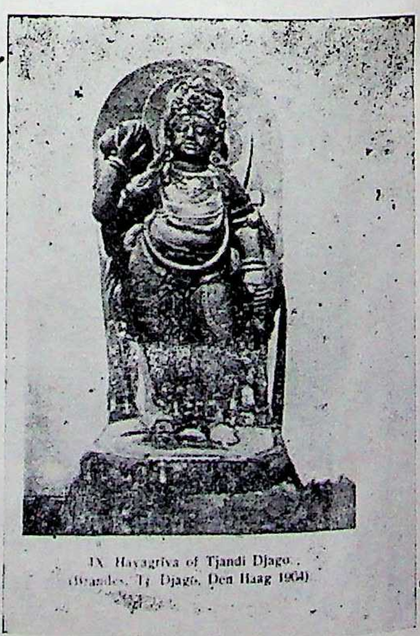
IV. Hayagrīva embracing his çakti. (Getty, Pl. XLIV, c).

Fig. 26(a) : Hayagrīva embracing his female counterpart



V. Hayagrīva with the Staff. (Leyden Museum, 1.SU N° 2)

Fig. 26(b): Hayagrīva with the staff



IX Hayagriva of Tjandi Djago.
(Brandes, Tj. Djago, Den Haag 1904)

Fig. 26(c): Hayagrīva Tjandi Djago

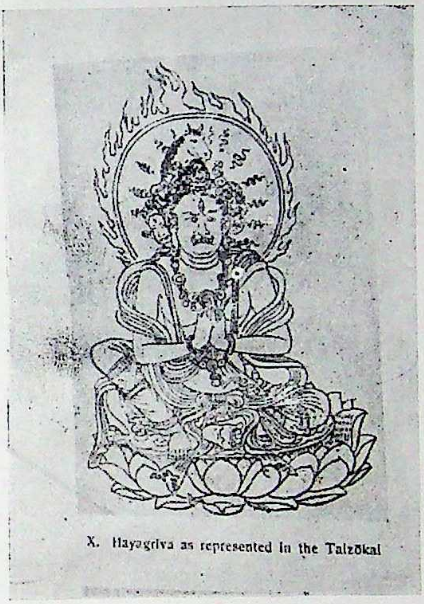

X. Hayagrīva as represented in the Taizōkai

Fig. 26(d) : Hayagrīva as represented in Taizūkai

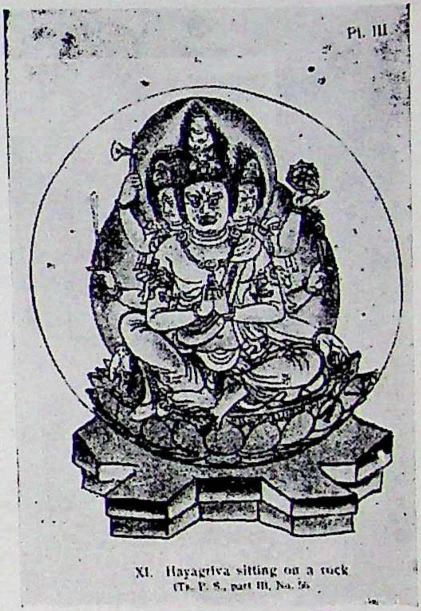

Pl. III
XI. Hayagrīva sitting on a rock
(Ts. P. S., part III, No. 56)

Fig. 26(e) : Hayagrīva, sitting on Lotus on a Rock seat

Fig. 26(f) : Hayagrīva with staff and flower

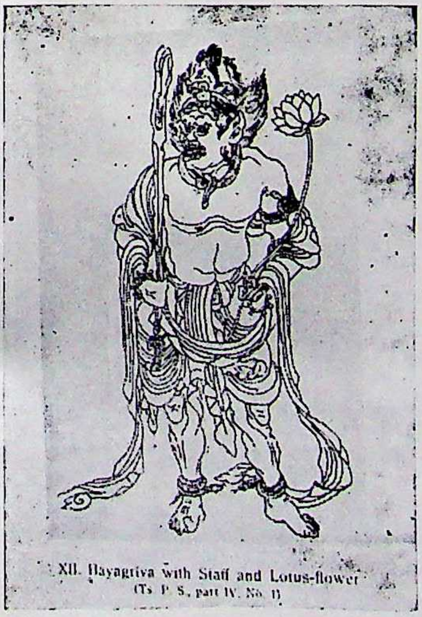
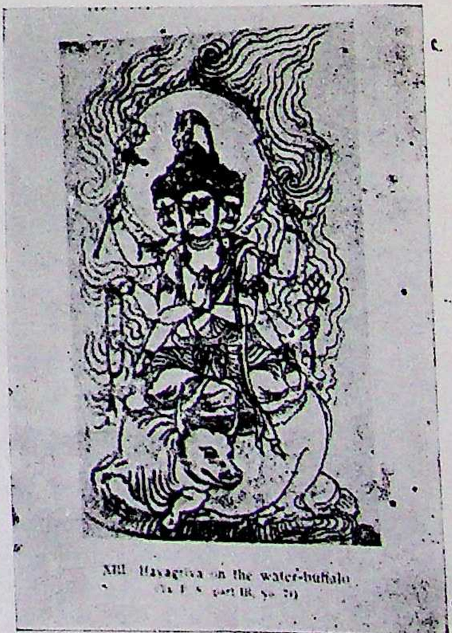

XII. Hayagriva with Staff and Lotus-flower
(Ts. P. S., part IV, No. 1)

Fig. 26(g) : Hayagrīva on the Water–Buffalo


XIII. Hayagriva on the water-buffalo